

THE
CRISIS:
OR, THE
ENEMIES OF AMERICA
UNMASKED.

BY J. WAYNE LAURENS.

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THE GREAT MODERN MIRACLE.—*Page 245.*



THE AMERICAN ^{BY} THE JESUIT

J. WAYNE. LAURENS.

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PREFACE.

THE most remarkable of all the circumstances, which distinguish our own country from others, is its rapid growth. In the begining of the seventeenth century it was a wilderness, inhabited only by savages and wild beasts. In the middle of the nineteenth, it rivals the oldest and proudest nations of the world in population, wealth, intelligence and industry. When the territory of the United States was first trodden by the settlers of Virginia, England, France and Germany could boast centuries upon centuries of cultivation, with some little knowledge of civil and religious freedom. Since that period America has shown the birth, childhood, youth and manhood of a model republic, which Europe has repeatedly but vainly endeavored to copy.

All this implies rapid progress. Our country
(iii)

has been aptly called the “country of progress.” It is also, as a necessary consequence, the theatre of sudden changes. Hence many enactments which were politic and just in the infancy of the republic, are pernicious and unjust at the present time. Among these are the laws, totally different from those of any other civilized nation, which give to foreigners, after a very short residence, the rights of citizenship.

When the country was just redeemed from the Revolution, such laws seemed politic and were comparatively harmless. Now they are portentous and dangerous. They are rapidly filling the country with powerful and unscrupulous enemies to her prosperity and her excellent institutions, on which that prosperity is founded.

These enemies, not content to enjoy peace security and equal rights of citizenship, under our constitution and laws, are boldly conspiring to subvert our most revered institutions, to change our laws, to destroy our liberties and to bring the whole country into a state of civil, as they already have, of financial dependance on foreign countries. These enemies are spread over the whole land, but they abound chiefly in cities.

There they can most conveniently plot mischief and set its elements in motion. There they can more readily communicate with the foreign powers, which they represent. There they can more easily accumulate the military force and the arms which may hereafter be required for their purposes. Hence it is in cities that the new importations of foreign enemies to the republic choose for the most part to reside. What are their real character and their secret designs, we have endeavored in the following pages to show ; as well as to indicate the means by which their increase may be prevented ; and the unholy designs, which they entertain, defeated.

It will be perceived that the enemies of whose existence and power, we have endeavored in this volume to warn our readers, are not merely those who reside among us. On the contrary the ramifications of the grand conspiracy against American liberty and happiness, are spread over many nations and countries. The money, the agents, the spies, of those who are secretly endeavoring to subvert our institutions are here in our midst. How they pursue their designs and how those designs may be defeated, we have endeavored to show in the following pages.

Of the great importance and interest of the subject of which we have treated there can be but one opinion among Americans. With respect to the manner, in which we have treated it, our readers will judge for themselves.

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THE
ENEMIES OF AMERICA UNMASKED.

CHAPTER I.

JESUIT INFLUENCE.

An American gentleman was passenger on board a merchant ship, bound from London to Rio Janeiro. There were among the passengers Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Portuguese; but the person we refer to was the only American. Between himself and the English gentlemen, there were frequent discussions about politics, to which such of the other passengers, as could speak English, would listen, sometimes taking a part. Of course, our American was a great friend to the institutions of his own country; and defended republican forms of govern-

men, freedom of the speech and of the press, the vote by ballot, and all the other elements of popular sovereignty through thick and thin. Assailed on every side, he found his office of champion of freedom no sinecure. Every calm morning and every pleasant evening witnessed a new controversy on the deck or in the cabin ; but he manfully held his ground against a host of adversaries ; and being fluent in speech, strong in argument, skilled in logic, and full of lively and sarcastic humor, he generally came out of the debate with honor, taking care always to terminate the action at precisely the right moment, and to quit the field with flying colors.

Among the persons who listened with the greatest attention to these debates, was a lean bilious looking old Frenchman, who always took care to be present, and who showed by his look and manner, that he was deeply interested in politics, although he never by any chance uttered an opinion or made a remark on political subjects, in the general circle of the passengers.

In point of fact, this man was a Roman Catholic priest, a Jesuit of high standing, who was going to some station in South America, in obedience to an order from his superior. He was a cosmopolite indeed.

Though not much past the middle point of life, he was rather aged in appearance, in consequence of the great variety and extent of the missions which he had performed in all quarters of the world, and in every kind of climate. From Canada to Calcutta; from the breezy heights of the Andes to the unwholesome marshes of Java, by sea and by land, in season and out of season, this man had journeyed on the secret errands of his order. Speaking fluently a dozen different languages, and possessing the most perfect power of dissimulation, as well as the most thorough devotedness to the church, and those carefully trained habits of obedience, which are so essential to the character of an able and faithful Jesuit, he had at length become one of the most accomplished men of his age.

As he listened to the conversation of the American passenger, he could not help noticing, that he was gradually making converts to republican views. Many of these passengers, he observed, sought private interviews with the American; and by careful eavesdropping, he ascertained that their object was to ask questions about his country, and gain information respecting the actual working of the American attempt

at self-government. When the passage was nearly over, the Frenchman happening to be alone with the American, in a retired part of the deck, where their conversation could not be overheard, commenced a quiet chat with him. Addressing him in English, which he spoke with ease and precision, he thanked him with apparent cordiality, for the entertainment he had derived from his conversation or rather eloquent haranguing to the other passengers, during the voyage. He professed to have enjoyed their debates very greatly ; and gave the American due credit for his wit, his logic, his humour, his address, and his unbounded good nature.

The American was much pleased at his compliments ; for he had conceived a great respect for this silent and attentive auditor ; and, in fact, had, in his own secret mind, set him down as a hopeful convert to Americanism ; he thanked him, therefore, with much feeling, for his good opinion ; at the same time disclaiming any merit, for success in defending a truth so self-evident, as that which is expressed in these few words—that a nation ought to govern itself, and that by the popular vote of its own citizens.

"This," said the Jesuit, with a quiet smile, "you suppose to be the system of your own country?"

"I do not suppose it," said the American, "I know it."

"Now," said the Jesuit, "listen to me a few moments and I will tell you what *I know*. Your president is elected by the conclave of cardinals at Rome, the same who elect the pope. Your people nominate the candidates. Our confidential agents select from the number, the one whom they believe to be the most favorable to the interests of the church. His name with those of the other candidates is reported to the cardinals and the pope. When their decision is announced to the confidential friends of the pope and the cardinals, in the United States, they send forth their orders through the priests; and the whole Roman Catholic vote is thrown for the candidate who is favoured by the church. He, of course, is always elected. Your parties are so equally divided on politics, that this Roman Catholic vote, which is cast on purely religious considerations, is always sufficient to turn the scale."

The American looked rather blank at this announcement. He was quite taken aback. Especially was

he staggered by the recollection that the candidate for the presidency, who was sustained by the Irish and German votes, was generally successful. He courteously thanked the Jesuit for the valuable information which he had communicated: and during the short remainder of the voyage, he abstained from talking politics and gave himself up to reflection.

Let us also reflect a little on the Jesuit's story. Perhaps it was a hoax, or a mere idle brag, intended to annoy and mortify the American.

But is not the main point of his declaration true? Is it not true that in many very essential points this country is governed by foreign influence? Is it not even highly probable that Roman Catholic prelates have a voice in the selection of candidates for very high as well as low offices, even for that of the president himself. Was not Mr. Polk, a man of no mark as a statesman and comparatively unknown to the country, elected in opposition to Henry Clay, immeasurably the most able and popular man in the United States; and was not this accomplished by the Roman Catholics voting against him *en masse*, because he was suspected, and only suspected of favouring the native American movement?

Was not the present postmaster general, a man without ability or antecedents, appointed to his important office in consequence of pledges given to Roman Catholic leaders; and has he not appointed thousands upon thousands of Roman Catholic deputy post masters, and required the appointment of Roman Catholic clerks?

With such facts as these stirring us in the face, what reflecting American can fail to perceive that in this direction at least the machinery of our government is to a certain extent directed by the agents of a foreign power, the liege subjects of the Pope of Rome?

The movers of this foreign political machinery in this country are the members of two secret societies. One is composed of the regular Roman Catholic priests, always and every where a secret society. The other is the Society of Jesus, as it is profanely called—in other words the Society of Jesuits. All history, past and present, gives assurance that these precious gentlemen are not too scrupulously pious to take a hand in the game of politics.

We will give the character of the Order of Jesuits

in the words of one of the ablest and best-informed historians of the present day.*

“ In the sixteenth century, the pontificate, exposed to new dangers more formidable than had ever before threatened it, was saved by a new religious order, which was animated by intense enthusiasm and organized with exquisite skill. When the Jesuits came to the rescue of the papacy, they found it in extreme peril; but from that moment the tide of battle turned. Protestantism, which had, during the whole generation, carried all before it, was stopped in its progress, and rapidly beaten back from the foot of the Alps to the shores of the Baltic. Before the order had existed a hundred years, it had filled the whole world with memorials of great things done and suffered for the faith.

“ No religious community could produce a list of men so variously distinguished; none had extended its operations over so vast a space; yet in none had there ever been such perfect unity of feeling and action. There was no region of the globe, no walk of speculative or of active life, in which Jesuits were not to be found. They guided the councils of kings. They deciphered Latin inscriptions. They observed the

* Macauley.

motions of Jupiter's satellites. They published whole libraries, controversy, casuistry, history, treatises on optics, Alcaic odes, editions of the fathers, madrigals, catechisms, and lampoons. The liberal education of youth passed almost entirely into their hands, and was conducted by them with great ability. They seemed to have discovered the precise point in which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation. Enmity itself was compelled to own that, in the art of managing and forming the tender mind, they had no equals. Meanwhile they assiduously and successfully cultivated the eloquence of the pulpit. With still greater assiduity and still greater success they applied themselves to the ministry of the confessional. Throughout Catholic Europe the secrets of every government and almost every family of note were in their keeping. They glided from one Protestant country to another under innumerable disguises, as gay cavaliers, as simple rustics, as Puritan preachers. They wandered to countries which neither mercantile avidity nor liberal curiosity had ever impelled any stranger to explore. They were to be found in the garb of Mandarins, superintending the Observatory at Pekin. They were to be found, spade in hand,

teaching the rudiments of agriculture to the savages of Paraguay. Yet, whatever might be their residence, whatever might be their employment, their spirit was the same, entire devotion to the common cause, implicit obedience to the central authority.

“None of them had chosen his dwelling-place, or his avocation for himself. Whether the Jesuit should live under the Arctic circle or the equator, whether he should pass his life in arranging gems and collating manuscripts at the Vatican, or in persuading naked barbarians in the southern hemisphere not to eat each other, were matters which he left with profound submission to the decision of others. If he was wanted at Lima, he was on the Atlantic in the next fleet. If he was wanted at Bagdad, he was toiling through the desert with the next caravan. If his ministry was needed in some country where his life was more insecure than that of a wolf, where it was a crime to harbor him, where the heads and quarters of his brethren, fixed in the public places, showed him what he had to expect, he went without remonstrance or hesitation to his doom.

“But with the admirable energy, disinterestedness, and self-devotion which were characteristics of the

society, great vices were mingled. It was alleged, and not without foundation, that the ardent public spirit which made the Jesuit regardless of his ease, of his liberty, and of his life, made him also regardless of truth and of mercy ; that no means which could promote the interest of his religion seemed to him unlawful, and that by the interest of his religion he too often meant the interest of his society. It was alleged that in the most atrocious plots recorded in history, his agency could be distinctly traced ; that, constant only in attachment to the fraternity to which he belonged, he was in some countries the most dangerous enemy of freedom, and in others the most dangerous enemy of order. The mighty victories which he boasted that he had achieved in the cause of the Church were, in the judgment of many illustrious members of that Church, rather apparent than real. He had, indeed, labored with a wonderful show of success to reduce the world under her laws, but he had done so by relaxing her laws to suit the temper of the world. Instead of toiling to elevate human nature to the noble standard fixed by divine precept and example, he had lowered the standard till it was beneath the average level of human nature. He gloried in multitudes of converts

who had been baptized in the remote regions of the East ; but it was reported that from some of these converts the facts on which the whole of the theology of the gospel depends had been cunningly concealed, and that others were permitted to avoid persecution by bowing down before the images of false gods, while internally repeating Paters and Aves. Nor was it only in heathen countries that such arts were said to be practised. It was not strange that people of all ranks, and especially of the highest ranks, crowded to the confessionals in the Jesuit temples, for from those confessionals none went discontented away. There the priest was all things to all men. He showed just so much rigour as might not drive those who knelt at his spiritual tribunal to the Dominican or the Franciscan Church.

“ If he had to deal with a mind truly devout, he spoke in the saintly tone of the primitive fathers ; but with that very large part of mankind who have religion enough to make them uneasy when they do wrong, and not religion enough to keep them from doing wrong, he followed a very different system. Since he could not reclaim them from guilt, it was his business to save them from remorse. He had at his com-

mand an immense dispensary of anodynes for wounded consciences. In the books of casuistry which had been written by his brethren, and printed with the approbation of his superiors, were to be found doctrines consolatory to transgressors of every class. There the bankrupt was taught how he might, without sin, secrete his goods from his creditors. The servant was taught how he might, without sin, run off with his master's plate. The pander was assured that a Christian man might easily earn his living by carrying letters and messages between married women and their gallants. The high-spirited and punctilious gentlemen of France were gratified by a decision in favour of duelling. The Italians, accustomed to darker and baser modes of vengeance, were glad to learn that they might, without any crime, shoot at their enemies from behind hedges. To deceit was given a license sufficient to destroy the whole value of human contracts and of human testimony. In truth, if society continued to hold together, if life and property enjoyed any security, it was because common sense and common humanity restrained men from doing what the Society of Jesus assured them that they might with a safe conscience do. So strangely were good and evil intermixed in

the character of the celebrated brethren; and the intermixture was the secret of their gigantic power."

Such is the character of the Jesuits drawn by an impartial hand. Such is the secret society organized and in full activity in these United States. Such is the force of foreign trained bands engaged in the work of establishing Jesuit ascendancy in this country, as firmly as it is already established in many countries in Europe.

How shall their designs be resisted and defeated? We answer, by Hawk Eye's method of stopping a conflagration on the prairie—namely—by "making fire fight fire." We must oppose to them, an order of free Americans, well organized, numerous; extending through the whole country, acting under one impulse, and fixed in one resolve—that Americans shall rule America.

It is in vain that we oppose to the machinations of a secret and widely diffused order, the proceedings of open political assemblies, who publish all their proceedings and all their intentions in the newspapers. Politics may well be compared to war in the matter of strategy. If your enemy knows your intentions, you are in perpetual danger of defeat. If you aban-

don the power of secret action, you abandon, at the same moment, all chance of success. If you would save the institutions of your country from the sacrilegious hands of Jesuit priests, you must "make fire fight fire." You must retain the power of sometimes taking your deadly enemy by surprise.

What some of the designs of the Jesuits are with respect to this country is fortunately known by their acts and the declarations of the journals under their control. To eradicate the whole system of public instruction as at present organized ; to control the elections, by using the Roman Catholic votes "to turn the scale;" and to make the whole country a Roman Catholic country, in which free thought, and free speech are crimes, punishable with imprisonment and death, may seem to some very bold designs to entertain with respect to this country. But these designs are by no means too daring for Jesuit priests, as their public declarations show. To defeat them we must begin now, before they have advanced further ; and we must oppose them vigorously, sincerely, and, above all, *systematically*.

As a commentary on the readiness with which the Jesuits change their professions to suit emergencies,

now, as well as formerly, we quote the following curious transaction of the year 1854.

THE KING OF NAPLES AND THE JESUITS.

Turin, Dec. 6.—A curious quarrel has lately broken out between the Neapolitan government and the Jesuits of that kingdom. It appears that the latter had been in the habit of teaching that the Pope was superior to all the other sovereigns of the earth, and the former has, for some unexplained reason, quite recently thought proper to regard this not very novel doctrine among Roman Catholics, as highly revolutionary. The consequence was, that M. Mazza, the Director of Police, sent for Padre Giuseppe, the chief of the Jesuits, the other day, and told him they must discontinue this practice, and should recollect that in 1848 they were sent out of the country in carriages; “but if these things continue,” said the worthy minister, “the government will kick you out of the kingdom.” “*Noi vi caceremo a calci,*” were the precise words. The reverend father, much distressed at the result of this interview, hastened back to his convent; and lost no time in compiling the following protest, which was published at Naples a day or two after—

*To his Royal Majesty Ferdinand II., of the Kingdom
of the Two Sicilies.*

SACRED ROYAL MAJESTY—

SIRE—With much surprise we have heard our sentiments doubted regarding absolute monarchy; we, therefore, think it necessary humbly to submit our views in the present page.

Majesty, we not only in olden time, but also recently, on our re-establishment in 1821, until the present day, have always inculcated respect, love, and devotion for the King our Lord, for his Government, for the form of the same—that is, absolute monarchy.

This we have done, not only from conviction, but also because the doctors of the company, who are Francesco Suarez, the Cardinal Ballarmine, and many other theologians and publicists of the same, have publicly taught absolute monarchy to be the best form of government

This we have done, because the internal economy of the company is monarchical, and therefore we are by maxim and by education devoted to absolute monarchy, in which Catholicism, by the wisdom and zeal of a pious King, can alone have secure defence and prosperity.

Majesty, that we both think, and believe, and sustain that absolute monarchy is the best of governments, is demonstrated by the damage we sustained in the year 1848. We were the victims of Liberalism, because all Liberals were and are well persuaded also, that the Jesuits are the supporters of absolute monarchy.

These things, oh, Majesty ! are well known, and Liberals would more easily believe that the sun would not rise to-morrow, than admit that the Jesuits could favor them ; and therefore every time they attempt a revolution, their first object is to despoil the Jesuits.

For this reason the Liberals, by an inviolable canon of their law, will not admit a Jesuit, or one who is affiliated to the order, among them.

In fact, the Jesuits in the Kingdom of Naples have always taught it to be unpardonable to make revolutions for the purpose of changing the absolute monarchy, which the reigning dynasty has always maintained.

If this should not be sufficient not to be thought Liberals, we humbly pray your Majesty to point out what further we ought to do to be believed decided absolutists.

Certainly the Jesuits have never been, at any time,

or in any place, accused of Liberalism; and what motive should they have for not loving and defending the absolute government of the august monarch Ferdinand II., who has covered them with benefits ?

Finally, Majesty, of this sovereign beneficence we have made no other use than for the good of Christian morality and Catholicity, and the reigning dynasty, to profess immutable fidelity to the absolute monarchy, to which we declare ourselves always devoted, and we hope your Majesty will graciously permit us to confirm this sentiment at your Majesty's feet by word of mouth.

The present page is signed by me, by my "Fathers councillors" (Padri Consultori,) and all others present, in the short time there has been for collecting their signatures ; and if your majesty desires the signatures of all the Jesuits of this province of Naples, they can be speedily obtained. In so much, we who sign this are a full guarantee for their devotion by all proof to the absolute monarchy.

GIUSEPPE MARIA PALADINI,
della Compagnia di Gesu Provinciale,
(and 23 others.)

Collegio del Gesu Nuovo Napoli, Nov. 21.

It would be curious and instructive, says a cotemporary, to discover what are the convictions, the doctrines, and the teachings of the numerous Jesuit schools in our own country ; to what extent they instill poison into the minds of American youth ; and whether they contradict the profession of faith of their European and Neapolitan brethren. What say the Roman Catholic clergy in the United States to the above truly Jesuitical petition ? Can we hope that they will contradict or condemn these principles, so expressed ? Do they agree with the Fathers, or have they been favored with some new and contradictory light ?

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN POLITICS.

MR. SCROGGS, who is staying at one of our crack hotels, brought letters to us from our correspondent in Manchester. He is a very nice person in his way. He has an air of well fed respectability about him, which betokens thrift in trade and good quarters. His face is rosy, rubicand, and well filled out. His figure is rotund and dignified. He gives you good port and champagne when you dine with him, and does it with an air of authoritative patronage, which, to an American citizen is very edifying. It is true he speaks of “am and heggs” for breakfast; but that is the fault of his education and profession; for Scroggs, although his English guineas, and a large stock of assurance

have gained him admission into what is called good society, as a gentleman, in this country, he is nothing but a bagman, when he is at home.

Scroggs's thorough ignorance of all liberal knowledge, his John Bull prejudices, and his admirable self-conceit render him an entertaining subject. So we sometimes amuse ourself by putting questions to him and receiving very profound answers.

Yesterday, at the dinner-table, he was advocating the claims of one of his countrymen to some petty office in the custom-house.

"Pray, Scroggs," said we, "what American citizen was ever permitted to hold office in England?"

"I ave eard say," said Scroggs, "that Lord Lyndhurst, the chancellor, was born in Boston."

"True," we replied, "but he was not an American citizen. He was born a British subject; and his father, an old tory, took him over to England before the Revolution. What other American holds office in England?"

"I never eard of hany hother," said Scroggs.

"Well, in what other country of Europe are Americans permitted to hold office and exercise political power? Where can they vote in an election of any



MR. SCROGGS.—*Page* 30.

kind? Not in France, where even your Lord Brougham found it impossible to become a citizen. Not in Austria, where Americans are imprisoned on suspicion of entertaining heretical opinions in politics. Not in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, or Spain. In Russia and Turkey, some ingenious and talented persons from this country have received situations of a semi-official character, on account of some special knowledge, and in cases where their services could not well be dispensed with. But in despotic countries, like Russia and Turkey, all under the sovereign are necessarily slaves, in the political sense of the word. No offices exist in those countries which are of so independent a character, even, as that which your friend solicits in our custom-house. The fact is, Scroggs, that in this instance, as well as in all others, where we Americans deal with Europe and European interests, the reciprocity is all on one side."

"I thought," said Scroggs, "that it was a game of give and take."

"Precisely so," we replied, "only the giving is all on our side, and the taking all on yours. When Englishmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, Germans, and Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians ask for offices here,

we give them. But if an American could by any possibility make such an ass of himself as to ask for an office anywhere in Europe, and especially in England, Scotland, or Ireland, he would be laughed at, and scouted for his unparalleled impudence and presumption. ‘ Give office to a foreigner, and above all to an American,’ a turtle-fed alderman of London would exclaim, ‘ the thing is preposterous.’ And yet the persons holding office in the United States, at this moment, who were born in Great Britain or Ireland, are counted by thousands. I tell you, Scroggs, the reciprocity is all on one side.”

“ But then they become citizens,” pleaded Scroggs.

“ But that don’t make them Americans, by a long shot,” we answered; “ there ought to be equal privileges on both sides. While an American is utterly shut out and debarred from holding office in Europe, Europeans should be dealt with in the same manner here. It is not fair to play at give and take, with the giving all on our side and the taking all on yours.”

Here Scrogg’s attention was called off by some one who wished to look at his pattern-books of British calicoes made in imitation of American ones, and in-

tended to cut out the fabrics of Lowell, in the American market; and so our conference ended.

But, leaving Scroggs to his pattern-books and his customers, let us consider for a few moments the propriety of defending ourselves from the immense foreign influence which is aiming to control, and even to a certain extent is at this moment actually controlling the destinies of the country.

Is it not a fact that, for the last twenty-five years, candidates for office have been constantly and openly bidding for the foreign vote? Even at the last election, did we not have to witness the humiliating spectacle of a man rendered illustrious by his public services, stumping about the country and currying favor with Irishmen and Germans, and endeavoring to gain the suffrages, which had already been sold by the Jesuits to his opponent, to be subsequently paid for by post office appointments? Do not foreign ruffians bully and attack with force and arms American born citizens at the polls, at every election? Are not these services to political aspirants paid for by appointments in custom houses and post offices? What would be thought of an American opening his mouth to speak, much less doubling his fist to strike, at an election in

England, Scotland, or Ireland ? He would be immolated on the spot ; and the coroner's verdict would be "*sarved him right.*" The truth is that nations ought to govern themselves, without foreign influence being permitted for one moment to interfere.

Many of our leading statesmen have recently declared that no foreigner should be naturalized till he has resided in this country twenty-one years. We might cite some very high political authorities on this point. But we care for no man's authority in so plain a case. The thing is self-evident. Americans should rule America ; and the voters are really the rulers. None but a native born American would ever have been allowed to vote, if justice had been done, from the beginning. The franchise should have been held sacred. But the laws of the land should be respected. Let those vote, whose vote is already legalized. But when we come to revise the naturalization laws, a piece of public service which will soon have to be performed, let us make thorough work of it, and in future grant the privilege of voting to no man who was not born on the American soil. We have had enough of artificial naturalizing. In all future time, let nature do the naturalizing herself. Then there will be no mistake,

and no false swearing. Foreigners will cease to perjure themselves in order to acquire the privilege of fighting at the polls, and the interests of peace and good morals will be promoted.

But we have a great deal of work to perform in the mean time. It is necessary to put an end at once and for ever to the degrading practice of candidates for office bidding for the foreign vote. Let every native born American do his duty to his country and himself; and the foreign vote will no longer be worth bidding for. Let no American born citizen vote for a foreigner or for a man who will appoint foreigners to office, and the thing is done. We shall thus rid ourselves of the greatest evil with which this country was ever cursed.

There has been a great deal of talk about liberality towards foreign nations. But what foreign nation has ever shown any liberality towards us? Why should we import voters, when we are permitted to export none? They want a free trade in voters corresponding with their free trade in other things, giving to them all the advantage and to us none whatever. That is the European theory of free trade with the United States.

We are often reminded of the great military services of foreigners in our armies in former times, and

we are charged with ingratitude in wishing to withhold the franchise from those who have defended the soil. But, with some brilliant exceptions, such as La Fayette, for example, these were mercenary soldiers, who, if they received their pay, received all which they bargained for, and have no right to demand any more. Will the foreign legion whom the British government are now about to hire to fight against the Russians, ever become British subjects and voters? The British understand their duty and their interests too well to permit any such exercise of gratitude. It is only Americans who are expected to reward foreign hired soldiers, by making them citizens and voters.

To become an American citizen and a voter, a man should have been born and educated among us. He should be an American indeed. He will then have some chance of understanding the nature of our institutions, and the working of our system. He will have no foreign prejudices to get rid of. He will have no foreign preferences to forget. He will have no foreign ignorance to be enlightened.

Our present system of making American citizens is a perpetual source of difficulty, vexation, and expense. A worthless fellow, named Koszta, comes to this coun-

try, and declares his intention to become an American citizen. This he does in order to protect himself against molestation while carrying on political intrigues abroad. Returning, to carry out his original intention, he is seized by the Austrians, who choose to govern themselves in their own way, without the intervention of pseudo-American citizens. An American officer reclaims him. The two governments are embroiled. The American secretary of state is made to waste much of his valuable time in writing a long defence. The American congress wastes more time and squanders many thousand dollars of the people's money in debating about this trumpery affair—and all this because our naturalization laws require reforming. If these laws were such as they ought to be, another "*Koszta affair*" would be impossible. But as the law now stands, the success of this adventurer will probably be the prelude to many more of the same sort. The present naturalization laws place our government entirely at the mercy of any foreign adventurer who chooses to make them the instrument for embroiling the country with foreign powers. They should be forthwith reformed.

The following able summary of the baneful effects

of foreign influence is extracted from a recent inaugural address of Governor Casey, of Delaware.

"The issue which has been so harshly forced from abroad upon our people, has no features in common with our past political controversies, the mere domestic contests which have recognized a generous and fraternal difference of opinion among those who agree in a united devotion to our native land. The present is a resistance to invaders who unite foreign minds and hearts in allegiance to a foreign Prince and Pontiff, and standing between the American parties, have dictated their own terms, and asserted their own superiority. Under these influences, the ballot-box has been corrupted by their frauds, or subjected to their violence; American politics have been stained with vices foreign to the American character; and a large portion of our most virtuous citizens have revolted, in disgust, from the exercise of privileges so shared and so degraded; and the highest places of the Republic have been abandoned to foreigners or their flatterers, some of whom have dared to assert the alleged prerogative of a foreign Pontiff to free American citizens from their allegiance to the government of their country. In our foreign policy the settled principles of

American statesmanship are well nigh lost sight of; foreigners have been selected to represent the country at the principal courts of Europe; and in the gratification of feelings, unshared by our people, they have made the American name a reproach throughout a large part of the civilized world. American principles and policy, feeling and interests, have been merged in their alien opposites; and in the press and on the platform, foreign influences have overswayed the control and directed the action of parties and the selection of candidates. The result of this conspiracy against the original and native American liberty, substantially, though not nominally, is devoted to foreign interests and preferring persons of foreign birth. If its recognized advocates have as yet failed to proclaim allegiance to a foreign monarch, they have made in most of the States efforts to overthrow the American system of public instruction; and have sought to exclude the Bible from the American schools; and have freely denounced the most cherished principles of American religious liberty; and all this, it should be remembered, has sprung from those to whom all that our fathers have won and that is dear to us, was freely offered; all this was foreign in its origin, authors, and acts—

all this was unprovoked, wanton, long patiently endured ; endured till foreign demagogues claimed our country as their own, and made our rights and our safety the counters with which they played the game of foreign politics.”

After noticing the noble resistance of Delaware to this foreign influence, as evinced in the late election, Governor Casey thus enumerates the duties imposed on American citizens in relation to foreign influence :

“ That triumph, should it prove to be national, will impose many and majestic duties. The first will be to surround, as with a wall of fire, which no pollution can invade, that Holy of Holies, the ballot-box ; and closely succeeding will rise the duty of regulating immigration ; of closing the avenues which have communicated with the prisons and lazarus-houses of Europe ; of defeating the ungenerous policy by which foreign princes force us to receive the moral abominations which their over-cloyed country vomits forth, constraining us to support their paupers, and to expose the property and lives of our people to the ruffian skill and desperation of their transported felons. As a tax and a peril the heaviest and worst ; as a wanton wrong and outrage, it should

be redressed in the first hours of realized national American victory.

"But the more pervading and vital triumph of the second American revolution, will be those which will establish, as the settled policy foreign and domestic of the nation, the saving principle of American Independence, as applied, not only to the right of suffrage, but to the privileges, sacred and inestimable, of our honest and hard-handed home labor. The policy by which our country has been, in its trade, its currency, its varied industrial pursuits, agricultural, mechanical, and otherwise, and in its social habits of expenditure and luxury, thrust into and made a part of Europe, is a treason against American honor and American interests. It is a repudiation of all the peculiar advantages bestowed, by Providence, in requital of the virtues of our fathers, upon our young and then unburdened country. We have, to gratify the schemes of politicians, and to glut the greediness of money changers, invited and drawn upon our country a common and almost an equal share of the evils which attend, as their parasite and clinging curses, the wasting vices and crimes of Europe. Our true hearted independence, real happiness, and secure policy are to be realized only by fos-

tering our own American homes—their industry, mutual relations and mutual self-reliance. In regard to every political virtue and hope, to all of pride and confidence associated with that American liberty which—as the earthquake shakes and the tempest overshadows all else of the civilized world—grows brighter and dearer to us, it is apparent that the time has arrived when our own country must separate her policy from the intrigues and machinations of Europe, from the strategy and corruption by which European councils and interests boastfully betrayed the independence of American industry and made our land tributary, as it now unhappily is, to England and France; forced upon us, with their luxuries, their vices: and added to their usurpation the heavy imposition of a monstrous and perpetual debt—a debt shared by every American; a debt which drains our country of its specie, and which subjects it, throughout every fibre of its giant frame, to the agony of such a financial convulsion as that which afflicts us. Vain will be the patriotic throbings of the great American heart, and vain the vigor of the American arm to re-achieve American Independence, until our land shall have been made inde-

pendent in that from which all power has its source—her industry.

“ Then and not till then, will she cease to be a European colony; then will she be the America of our fathers—truly independent—rich in her own resources—secure in her own strength, and happy in her own freedom. The crimes and oppressions, the wrongs and wars of Europe may terrify and torture their own world, but not a ripple of the storm will break upon our shores. Till that consummation shall have been effected, our duty will be unfulfilled, and our triumph—however glorious—incomplete, the oracles of our American patriarchs and prophets will remain empty, and the real mission, holy, calm, and beneficent of our American destiny unachieved.

CHAPTER III.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS—DESIGN OF THE MONARCHS OF EUROPE.

A COTEMPORARY writer* presents the following startling facts in relation to foreign influence in municipal affairs, and also in relation to the designs of European sovereigns with respect to the United States.

"We have already adverted to the startling fact that of the Police force of New York, seven hundred and eighteen are natives of the United States, four hundred and seventeen born in foreign countries, and that thirty-nine of them had been in the State Prison. The *American Organ*, commenting upon this, remarks, 'Does any one believe that more than one-third of the police force of New York would have been

* In the Philadelphia Daily Sun.

composed of foreigners, if the demagogues who control that city had not relied upon the foreign vote to sustain them in their corrupt practices? It is customary, in this country, to regard with horror the corruptions of European governments. But in what court of Europe, let us ask, does corruption walk more unblushingly in noon-day, than for years she has stalked with brazen face through the City Hall, of New York? Were it not for her large foreign population, New York would be as well governed as Boston, or Charleston, or Philadelphia. Why not? Her *American* citizens are as honest, as virtuous, and as law-abiding as those of any other city. It is the foreign element, forming so large a portion of her population, which renders her a disgraceful exception to all the other citizens of the United States. Two years ago, three of her Aldermen were indicted by the grand jury; and, as we write, one of her Common Council, an Irishman, is an inmate of the Tombs, for aiding the escape of the murderer of Poole—that murderer himself a policeman and a foreigner!

“The danger of making this country a réceptacle for the bad and disaffected population of Europe, and investing them with the rights of citizens has long ago,

and often been pointed out. The Duke of Richmond, formerly the celebrated Colonel Lennox, was Governor of Canada in 1815—16. The late Horatio Gates, a native of Massachusetts, was at that time an eminent merchant in Montreal, and was known and respected by thousands in Canada and his native country. Mr. Gates reports the following remarks as having been made in his presence by the Duke of Richmond :

“The Duke, a short time before his death, in speaking of the government of the United States, said, ‘It was weak, inconsistent, and bad, and could not long exist.’ ‘It will be destroyed; it ought not, and will not be permitted to exist, for many and great are the evils which originated from the existence of that government. The cause of the French revolution, and subsequent wars and commotions in Europe are to be attributed to its example; and so long as it exists, no prince will be safe upon his throne; and the sovereigns of Europe are aware of it, and they have determined upon its destruction, and come to an understanding upon this subject, and have decided on the means to accomplish it; and they will eventually succeed by subversion rather than conquest.’ ‘As the low and surplus population of the different nations of Europe

will be carried into that country ; it is and will be a receptacle for the bad and disaffected population of Europe, when they are not wanted for soldiers, or to supply the navies, and the European governments will favor such a course.' 'This will create a surplus and majority of low population, who are so very easily excited ; and they will bring with them their principles, and in nine cases out of ten, adhere to their ancient and former governments, laws, manners, and religion, and will transmit them to their posterity, and in many cases propogate them among the natives.'

" 'These men will become citizens, and by the constitution and laws, will be invested with the right of suffrage. The different grades of society will then be created by the elevation of a few and by degrading many, and thus a heterogeneous population will then be formed, speaking different languages, and of different religions and sentiments, and to make them act, think, and feel alike, in political affairs, will be like mixing oil and water ; hence discord, dissension, anarchy, and civil war will ensue, and some popular individual will assume the government and restore order, and the sovereigns of Europe, the immigrants, and many of the natives will sustain him.

“‘The Church of Rome has a design upon that country, and it will, in time, be the established religion, and will aid in the destruction of that republic. I have conversed with many of the sovereigns and princes of Europe, and they have unanimously expressed these opinions relative to the government of the United States, and their determination to subvert it !’”

“Have not these prophetic words been verified! The question then arises, in the language of our Washington cotemporary—shall this state of things *continue*? Shall the United States remain *for ever* a receptacle for the ignorant, vicious, and disaffected population of Europe? Shall Europe be permitted *for the future* to vomit forth upon our shores annually, *five hundred thousand* paupers, criminals, and vagabonds, of every grade and hue, to become, after the lapse of five years, American citizens, American law-makers, and American office-holders? This is the question which the American people are now required to answer. We say *now*. Because, if the settlement of this great question be postponed for five or ten years longer, *it will be too late* to answer it, as it should be answered. If postponed for a few years, the foreign party will become so strong that it will be impossible to effect

the reformation in our naturalization laws, so imperatively required for the conservation and well-being of our republican institutions. No! Delays are not only dangerous, they are *fatal!* *Now or never* is the time for action.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN MILITARY AFFAIRS.—FOREIGN LEGIONS AMONG US.

IT appears that the foreign residents in the United States are quietly and steadily preparing a military force, composed entirely of themselves, to be ready for action when foreigners are sufficiently numerous in the country to bring certain political questions to the final arbitrement of the sword.

How this thing is managed in New York city, where foreigners are more numerous than any where else in the country, is apparent from the following communication addressed by "A Citizen" to the editor of the New York Tribune, and inserted in that paper under the head, "Abuses in the First Division of Militia—City of New York."

"There are frequent applications made, and some have been granted, for the organization of New Companies and Regiments, and even Brigades, in the First Division; apparently for no other object than to create an additional number of officers, or to bring together, into separate organization, the natives of a particular country, when it is well known that most of the existing corps do not possess the requisite number of men required by law, which declares that 'no uniformed company shall consist of less than fifty non-commisioned officers and privates, nor more than one hundred.' This would admit in each regiment one thousand men, exclusive of commission'd officers, the non-commisioned staff and musicians. It is notorious, at least to the respective corps, that no regiment in the City has ever paraded over five hundred men, and the largest rarely over four hundred, while at least two-thirds of the regiments do not parade over two hundred men. There is not a company in the City that has one hundred effective men on the roll, and it is deemed a remarkably prosperous one that has fifty, while the most of them parade from twenty to thirty each. Why, then, organize new regiments and companies, when the existing ones are deficient in numbers,

and especially why organize bodies of Irish, Germans, French, Swiss, &c., separately. If the natives of those countries, being adopted citizens, desire to enrol themselves *in good faith* as American citizen-soldiers, they could find plenty of vacancies in the already organized companies of the several Regiments of the Division. If they are aliens, they have no right to be members, and all such now attached should at once be required to leave the companies in which they are enrolled. It may not be generally known, but such is the fact, that the officers in most of the foreign organizations issue their military orders in a foreign language, as well as are compelled to explain the military exercise in a foreign tongue. The by-laws of most of these companies, now recognized by law, are printed in a foreign language, and an American officer, who has to adjudicate upon their provisions, if he is not familiar with the language, *has to require a translated copy*. Should this be permitted? Should it be necessary to the members themselves? If they are American citizens, and desire to be good ones, fit to be enrolled, 'for the security of a free State,' they should at least acquire a knowledge of the language of the country of their adoption. If they were enrolled in

companies not exclusively composed of their own countrymen, they would more readily acquire this knowledge, so important for a faithful discharge of their duty. It is known that intelligent officers who have been in command of corps composed chiefly of adopted citizens have expressed great doubt of the propriety of placing these corps in prominent positions, in case of a riot or popular tumult. Native American citizens, while they would be inclined to submit to the arms of their own countrymen, would not willingly yield to a force composed almost exclusively of *foreigners*, even though *adopted* citizens, especially if they should hear orders given to such a force in a language to them unknown. This is another reason why these separate foreign organizations should not be permitted, especially when on the banners of some is borne the device of their nationality, and who clothe themselves in the uniform of another country, in preference to an American uniform. But this evil is even deeper than is stated. In these organizations, there are many, aye hundreds, who are not citizens even by adoption, that is, they have not been in the country long enough to become citizens. Should this violation of law exist? What reliance have we upon the boasted

bulwark of American freedom—its *citizen* soldiery—when it is organized of those who are not *citizens*? These aliens are not responsible for these organizations. They originate in some demagogue who wishes the party for some other than the ostensible object. The General, or superior officers, are anxious to have a longer tail to their show, regardless of the quality, if they have quantity. As an evidence of this, it is scarcely more than two years since, when a body of Irishmen, (whether citizens or not is uncertain, but it is believed the most of them are aliens,) desired to be organized into a regiment, and attached to one of the brigades of the First Division, and applied to several of the commanding officers of brigades for their approbation. Most of them declined. One of them, however, was about to yield, when the several Colonels of this officer's brigade, under their proper signatures, remonstrated against its admission, urging some of the reasons herein suggested. The remonstrance had its effect, and the consent was withheld. The commanding officer of this brigade retired, and one of the remonstrating Colonels became his successor; and soon thereafter himself became an *applicant* for the admission of this very body of Irishmen he was so strenuous

in opposing when the *tail* would not be of any particular advantage to the regiment he then commanded. And, strange to say, the Major-General himself, who at a Division Board, composed of officers representing several brigades and regiments of the City, sanctioned by his own vote certain principles laid down by the unanimous vote of the Board against the admission of any new corps in the division until the existing ones should be filled according to law, joined in the application; and this regiment is now attached to the Second Brigade in this City. It is right, therefore, to attribute the evil complained of to the anxiety of some of the General officers to make a great show without regard to law or propriety. In regard to the admission of these corps into the service of the State, it is evident but little pains is taken to ascertain whether the persons making the applications under the laws are eligible to be members. By the laws of the Federal as well as State Government, the persons *subject to military duty* are "all able-bodied white male *citizens*, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years." The Commander-in-chief *may* organize a company "whenever fifty persons, *subject to military duty*, shall associate together for the purpose." What evidence

does the Commander-in-chief require that the fifty persons thus applying are *subject* to military duty, *i. e.*, are *citizens*? After the companies are organized, what restraint is there on Captains and Colonels to prevent the admission of aliens in their corps? It becomes a matter of serious inquiry, when it is believed *that more than two-thirds of the members of the First Division are of foreign birth*, and a large proportion of that number are not even citizens. It is known, too, that many of our native citizens are deterred from joining uniform companies while the privileges are thus abused. This subject needs the careful consideration of the Legislature, and an inquiry into all the facts, that a remedy may be supplied. This could be accomplished by the appointment of a Commission, of say three citizens, with power to conduct such an investigation as would lead to a full and faithful report."

The facts here disclosed by the "Citizen," with a view to the correction of abuses, suggest very grave reflections to all who love their country. Comment seems quite unnecessary.

Perhaps it may be as well, however, to notice, in this connection, the fearful rate at which foreign immigration into this country is increasing.

"When five years were fixed for the probationary period before naturalization, immigration was counted by units, now it comes on us by hundreds of thousands—from seven thousand a year it has increased to nearly five hundred thousand. Estimating our foreign population now at about four millions, it is increasing in the ratio of twelve and a half per cent., while the entire population of the United States between 1840 and 1850 only increased about six hundred thousand a year. From 1800 to 1810 only seventy thousand foreigners arrived here, and from 1840 to 1850 there came two million one hundred and sixteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven; while in 1810 our entire population was seven million two hundred and thirty nine thousand eight hundred and fourteen, and in 1850 it was twenty three million one hundred and ninety one thousand eight hundred and seventy six—the increased immigration being as thirty to one, and the increased population being a little more than three to one. Is it not a proper regard for our national safety, rather than a proscriptive policy, which should induce a change in our naturalization laws?

"Are not the elective franchise and the ballot box in

- danger of losing their purity and fore? Is it proper that foreigners should hang an American Senator in effigy, even though it be *Stephen A. Douglas*? Can we look unconcernedly and see the efforts of the German Progressive Republican Party among us to abolish the Sabbath, and spread infidel doctrines in our midst? Look at the different character of the immigrants now arriving from those who formerly came here; once they might possess the elements of good citizens, now they are the outpourings of poor houses, penitentiaries, jails, and penal colonies. They cannot, even with twenty-one years' probation, know as much of our institutions as our young natives when they come of age, and assume the legal duties of citizens. They cannot eradicate their cradle born sentiments of serfdom, or understand our beautiful governmental system, which works with the harmonious regularity of astronomical calculation.

“Viewing all these dangers, who can wonder that many Americans advocate the total repeal of the Naturalization Laws, unless some plan can be devised to prevent frauds. Still we would, if it were impossible to do any better, be very willing to try the plan proposed by Senator *Adams*, [viz; to extend the resi-

dence of aliens in our country before they can be Naturalized, to twenty one years,] with the express understanding that if future immigrants attempt to evade it, or any perjury is practised, then total exclusion shall be adopted as the only means of safety. But we have no idea that any bill touching this question will find favor with the present Congress, or that the next will be able to frame its action so as to avoid the veto of President *Pierce*; but the whole field of controversy should be opened up and argued—the stubble removed, and the harvest garnered for 1857, when an American Congress and an American President will enact and approve such laws as will protect our Nationality and restore to us the purity of sentiment and action which distinguished our country before it was visited by the ingushing streams of foreign crime and ignorance. The American Nation, we are convinced, desire the total and conditional repeal of the Naturalization Laws, and nothing short of this will content them

“If our readers are desirous to know what political principles are held by our foreign residents, we give the following public announcement as a specimen.

The Richmond Whig, of Virginia, says that a party

has been organized in that State, under the title of the "German Democratic Association," which proclaims the following as among its Radical principles:

"1. Universal suffrage. 2. The election of all officers by the people. 3. *The abolition of the Presidency.* 4. *The abolition of Senates*, so that the Legislatures shall consist of only one branch. 5. The right of the people to call their Representatives (cashier them) at their pleasure. 6. *The right of the people to change the Constitution when they like.* 7. *All law suits to be conducted without expense.* 8. *A department of the Government to be set up for the purpose of protecting immigration.* 9. *A reduced term for acquiring citizenship.*

REFORM IN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

"1. *Abolition of all neutrality.* 2. *Intervention in favor of every people struggling for liberty.*

REFORM IN WHAT RELATES TO RELIGION.

"1. A more perfect development of the principle of personal freedom and liberty of conscience; con-

sequently *a*. Abolition of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; *b*. Abolition of prayers in Congress; *c*. Abolition of oath upon the Bible; *d*. Repeal of all laws enacting a religious test before taking an office. 2. Taxation of church property. 3. A prohibition of incorporations of all church property in the name of ecclesiastics."

This is indeed madness or worse.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.

THE most potent influences in the world are those which are secret, or at least unobserved. Caloric, magnetism, and electricity, pervade the whole physical creation, and that perpetually and actively, without attracting the attention of the common observer. In the moral and political world, it is the same. Fraud, bribery, and corruption are for ever at their dirty work, in high places as well as low, while the mass of mankind pursue their daily toil, without noticing the secret agencies which are working out misery and distress for the industrial classes..

In our own country, notwithstanding the interest which every man takes in politics, this is peculiarly the

case. It is the study of political leaders to divert the attention of the people from the interests of industry, or to lead them in the wrong direction by fraud and imposture. It is true that in this country every man, who can read at all, reads the newspapers; but every man does not inquire whose pay the newspaper is in. We are often reminded that one of the greatest blessings a country can enjoy is a free press. But it is not the business of the newspapers to inform us that the greatest curse a country can suffer is a *venal press*. We are occasionally told that this or that newspaper has been bought up; and consequently transferred its allegiance from one political party to another. But we are never informed that a great leading press in a great commercial city has been bought by British gold, to advocate the cause of British industry against American industry. That is one of the *secret* influences at work in our system—one among many. It is one of those hidden causes, whose effects are apparent enough; but those are always charged to the folly and extravagance of the American people, not to the secret foreign influences which really produce them.

Why are our mechanics and traders now paying

three, four, and five per cent. a month for the use of money?

"Because you let your wives and daughters wear silk gowns," says Scroggs.

Not so, Scroggs, it is because we suffer England to rule our financial affairs, when, if we were the TRUE AMERICANS we ought to be, we might rule them ourselves. Foreign influence, and not American extravagance is the cause of our present distress. Those who suffer most do not permit their wives and daughters to wear silk gowns, but they bring the distress on themselves much more certainly and effectually by voting for those who are under foreign influence.

In the middle ages, the aristocracy of Europe ruled the people by main force. The masses were unarmed serfs; the barons wore iron armor and owned all the land, except what was owned by the Roman Catholic church, which church was in close alliance with the aristocracy. In the present age, the people are too intelligent to be ruled in this coarse fashion; and the aristocracy of Europe, especially that of England, rules by money. Fraud and corruption have taken the place of force.

As Americans we would not interfere with this sys-

tem, if it were only applied to Europe, but most unfortunately for us, it is also applied to this country.

London boasts herself—and truly too—the great commercial and financial centre of the world. To reach this point foreign countries have been conquered, cheated, bribed and corrupted to an extent which has no parallel in history. To make London the commercial and financial centre of the world, the British aristocracy have conquered, oppressed, and nearly ruined India, attacked and ravaged a portion of China, cheated and ruined Portugal and Turkey, and by force and fraud annexed and colonized other countries to such an extent that the sun never sets upon her empire. This country, England has twice attempted without success to conquer and reduce to slavery, as she has India. She can never accomplish this. The age of force is past with her. Imbecility directs her armies and navies, as we see by the events of the present war against Russia. England has ceased to be a great military power, because her inveterate system of corruption has utterly demoralized her military force, by giving all the leading offices to stupid aristocrats, and refusing promotion to merit in the rank and file. Lord Raglan is their Napoleon.

But England does not wish to conquer us. She only wishes to rule us by the secret influence of money.

"To rule you," says Scroggs, "what nonsense! we have nothing to do with your politics."

You are mistaken, Scroggs. You have a great deal to do with our politics, and have always meddled with our political affairs, as you do with those of all other nations. But your ultimate object is not so much to direct our political career, as to cheat us out of our money, and this you are doing every day. You wish London to be always, as it is unfortunately for us, at present, *our financial ruler*. If we were true to ourselves we could emancipate ourselves from this thraldom at once. But hitherto foreign influence has been too strong for us, because it was secret. We propose to unmask it before the people, and then it will end. The American people can do any thing which they think it worth while to attempt. When they were only three millions strong, they beat you in an eight years' war, rather than submit to a trumpery two penny tax on tea. Much more easily will they beat you now, when they come to understand the true nature of the contest. As soon as it becomes apparent to the native born American people, that the true

cause of the present distress of the country and the utter prostration of its industrial interests, is foreign influence, they will set the matter right. When it is understood that the American workmen cannot get work, because the interests of British workmen, or rather the interests of the aristocracy, who make British workmen their slaves, are chiefly consulted by the law makers of this country, then new laws will be made, a new system—*the American system*—will prevail. You, Scroggs, will have to pack up your trumpery pattern-books and go back to Manchester; we shall manufacture our own cloth, hardware, and iron rails; business will revive; London will cease to be our financial ruler; and money will cease to be three per cent. a month. We shall then have beaten England for the third time and it is to be hoped we shall get rid of her infernal influence for ever.

All this you say, Scroggs, is mere declamation.

Granted. So it is—mere declamation. We like to declaim sometimes. All Americans do, ever since Patrick Henry bearded the king's minions in the Virginia legislature, in old colony times. But we are prepared to back up our declamation with a few facts.

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE.

THE facts to which we have alluded relate to the methods resorted to, by the oligarchy which governs Great Britain, in order to render London the commercial and financial centre of the world, and to render all other nations tributaries to the British.

Great Britain is an island of moderate extent, raising corn enough to support the inhabitants. Her enormous wealth has been accumulated by manufactures of cloth and iron, the sale of which she has made it the object of her policy to thrust upon other nations to the ruin and destruction of their own manufacturing industry.

If a nation is possessed of natural advantages equal

or superior to those of Great Britain, it is her duty to *protect* her mechanics against foreign influence, and thus enable them to manufacture for themselves. If a nation has iron ore, and a climate and soil fit for the raising of wool and cotton, she ought never to import a yard of cloth, a rod of rail for her iron roads, or a single article of hardware from Great Britain, at the risk of preserving the financial ascendancy of London and enslaving or starving her own mechanics.

In order to blind foreign nations to the nature of the imposture, by which she cheats and robs foreign nations, she calls her policy *free trade*. People love the very name of freedom, and they are gulled by this specious name into their own ruin. In order to make it more palatable to foreign nations, she hires writers and buys up newspapers to cry down the opposite policy of PROTECTION TO NATIONAL INDUSTRY as a narrow minded and illiberal system, opposed to freedom.

Where Great Britain applies her system to a country under despotic rulers, she buys up the government or cheats it by a commercial treaty, with all the real advantages on her own side, as in the case of Portugal and Turkey. Where the country is barbarous or half civilized, she conquers and enslaves it, annexing it as

a colony of her own, and forcing her *free trade* system on the people at the point of the bayonet, as in India. Where her immediate object is to poison and demoralize the people of a foreign nation with a view to their future subjugation and annexation, she first employs her commercial marine in smuggling the poison into the country, and when the government resists this measure, she declares war, burns their seaports, murders a few thousands of their people, and compels them to permit the *free trade* in poison to go on, as in the case of China, forced into submission by what is called the "opium war." When the nation to be cheated and enslaved is powerful and free, she works by secret influence on the government, bribes executive officers and legislators, buys up newspapers and pays needy scribblers for decrying the policy of protection to the national industry, as in the case of the United States *at the present time*.

To show that we are not without ample support from history in the assertions we make, we will now cite a few pages from a writer of our own country, whose works are treated with marked respect in every country of Europe not under British influence, and whose name is detested in England on account of the tremen-

dous array of facts by which he has assailed the British system of free trade. We mean, of course, Henry C. Carey. In a recent work, he thus sets forth the operations of British free trade in Portugal and Turkey. Let Americans consider and read *the facts*, and compare them with what has been going on in this country recently, and what is the state of facts at the present time.

"In point of natural advantages. Portugal is equal to any country in Western Europe. The soil is capable of yielding largely of every description of grain, and her climate enables her to cultivate the grape and the olive. Mineral riches abound, and her rivers give to a large portion of the country every facility for cheap intercourse, and yet her people are among the most enslaved, while her government is the weakest and most contemptible of Europe.

"It is now a century and a half since England granted her what were deemed highly important advantages in regard to wine; on condition that she should discard the artisans who had been brought to the side of the farmers, and permit the people of England to supply her people with certain descriptions of manufactures. What were the duties then agreed

on are not given in any of the books now at hand, but by the provisions of a treaty made in 1810, cloths of all descriptions were to be admitted at merely a revenue duty, varying from ten to fifteen per cent. A natural consequence of this system has been that the manufactures which up to the date of the Methuen treaty had risen in that country, perished under foreign competition, and the people found themselves by degrees limited exclusively to agricultural employment.

“ Mechanics found there no place for the exercise of their talents, towns could not grow, schools could not arise, and the result is seen in the following paragraph.

“ It is surprising how ignorant, or superficially acquainted, the Portuguese are with every kind of handicraft; a carpenter, awkward and clumsy, spoiling every work he attempts, and the way in which the doors and wood work even of good houses are finished, would have suited the rudest ages. Their carriages of all kinds from the fidalgo’s family coach to the peasant’s market cart, their argricultural implements, locks and keys, etc., are ludicrously bad. They seem to disdain improvements, and are so infinitely below par, so strikingly inferior to the rest of Europe, as to

form a sort of disgraceful wonder in the middle of the nineteenth century.”—*Baillie*.

The population, which, half a century since, was three million six hundred and eighty three thousand, is now reduced to a little more than three millions, and we need no better evidence of the enslaving and exhausting tendency of a policy that limits a whole people, men, women, and children, to the labors of the field. At the close of almost a century and a half of this system, the following is given, in a work of high reputation, as a correct picture of the state of the country and the strength of the government.

“The finances of Portugal are in the most deplorable condition, the treasury is dry, and all branches of the public service suffer. A carelessness and a mutual apathy reign not only throughout the government, but also throughout the nation. While improvement is sought every where else throughout Europe, Portugal remains stationary. The postal service of the country offers a curious example of this, nineteen to twenty-one days being still required for a letter to go and come between Lisbon and Braganza, a distance of four hundred and twenty-three and a half kelometres, (or a little over three hundred miles) all the resources

of the state are exhausted, and it is probable that the receipts will not give one third of the amount for which they figure in the budget." *Annuaire de l'Economie Politique* 1849, p. 322.

Some years since an effort was made to bring the artisan to the side of the farmer and wine grower, but a century and a half of exclusive devotion to agriculture had placed the people so far in the rear of those of other nations, that the attempt was hopeless, the country having long since become a mere colony of Great Britain.

If we turn to Madeira, we find there further evidence of the exhausting consequences of the separation of the farmer and the artisan. From 1836, to 1842, the only period for which returns are before me, there was a steady decline in the amount of agricultural production, until the diminution had reached about thirty per cent, as follows.

	WINE.	WHEAT.	BARLEY.
1836.	27.270 pipes.	8.472 qrs.	3.510.
1842.	16.131 "	6.863 "	2.777.

At this moment (1853) the public papers furnish an "Appeal to America," commencing as follows:

"A calamity has fallen on Madeira unparalleled in its history. The vintage, the revenue of which furnished the chief means of providing subsistence for its inhabitants, has been a total failure, and the potato crop, formerly another important article for their food, is still extensively diseased. All classes, therefore, are suffering, and as there are few sources in the island to which they can look for food, clothing, and other necessities of life, their distress must increase during the winter, and the future is contemplated with painful anxiety and apprehension. Under such appalling prospects, the zealous and excellent civil governor, Senor Jose Silvectre Ribeiro, addressed a circular letter to the merchants of Madeira, on the 24th of August last, for the purpose of bringing the unfortunate and critical position of the population under his government to the notice of the benevolent and charitable classes in foreign countries, and in the hope of exciting their sympathy with, and assistance to, so many of their fellow creatures threatened with famine."

Such are the necessary consequences of a system which looks to compelling the whole population of a country to employ themselves in a single pursuit—all cultivating the land, and all producing the same

commodity ; and which thus effectually prevents the growth of that natural association so much admired by Adam Smith. It is one that can end only in the exhaustion of the land and its owner. When population increases and men come together, even the poor land is made rich, and thus it is, says M. de Jonnes, that “ the power of manure causes the poor lands of the Seine to yield thrice as much as those of the Loire.”*

When population diminishes, and men are thus forced to live at greater distances from each other, even the rich lands become impoverished ; and of this no better evidence need be sought than that furnished by Portugal. In the one case, each day brings men nearer to perfect freedom of thought, speech, action, and trade ; in the other, they become from day to day more barbarized and enslaved, and the women are more and more driven to the field, there to become the slaves of fathers, husbands, brothers, and even of sons.

Such, according to our authority, is the condition of Portugal and her once flourishing colony of Madeira, after enjoying, in the fullest manner, for a century and a half, the advantages of free trade with her beloved ally Great Britain. It is true Great Britain

* Statistique de l’Agriculture de la France, p. 129.

buys her Port wine and makes it the principal article of consumption in the way of wine; but this is done to make a show of reciprocity. The result of the free trade system has brought to Portugal ruin and prostration in all her material interests. The natural consequence that the country which conquered and held one third of India, in the time of Albuquerque, when England had not a colony in the world, has now sunk to such political insignificance that the presence of a British frigate, more or less in the harbor of Lisbon, is sufficient to determine a change of dynasty for that wretched country.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE.

(CONTINUED.)

ENGLAND is fond of calling Turkey her “ancient ally;” but that did not prevent her from aiding Russia in annihilating the Turkish fleet, at Navarino, an error which she is now expiating at Sebastopol. Neither has it prevented her from ruining Turkey by the same system of British free trade, which has ruined Portugal. Let us see what the authority already quoted says in this connection :

“Of all the countries of Europe, there is none possessed of natural advantages to enable it to compare with those constituting the Turkish Empire in Europe

and Asia. Wool, silk, corn, oil, and tobacco, might, with proper cultivation, be produced in almost unlimited quantity, while Thessaly and Macedonia, long celebrated for the production of cotton, abound in lands uncultivated, from which it might be obtained in sufficient quantity to clothe a large portion of Europe. Iron ore also abounds, and in quality equal to any in the world, while in another part of the empire, ‘the hills seem a mass of carbonate of copper.’* Nature has done every thing for the people of that country, and yet of all those of Europe, the Turkish rayah approaches in condition nearest to a slave; and of all the governments of Europe, that of Portugal not even excepted, that of Turkey is the most a slave to the dictation, not only of nations, but even of bankers and traders. Why it is so, we may now inquire.

“By the terms of the treaty with England, in 1675, the Turkish government bound itself to charge no more than three per cent. duty on imports,† and as this could contribute little to the revenue, that required to be sought elsewhere. A poll-tax, house-tax, land-tax,

* Urquhart’s Resources of Turkey, p. 199.

† Equivalent to light port charges, the anchorage being only sixteen cents per ship.

and many other direct taxes, furnished a part of it, and the balance was obtained by an indirect tax in the form of export duties; and as the corn, tobacco, cotton, of its people were obliged to compete in the general markets of the world with the produce of other lands, it is clear that these duties constituted a further contribution from the cultivators of the empire, in aid of the various direct taxes that have been mentioned. So far as foreigners were interested, the system was one of perfect trade and direct taxation.

"For many years Turkey manufactured much of her cotton, and she exported cotton yarn. Such was the case as recently as 1798, as will be seen by the following very interesting account of one of the seats of manufacture.

"Ambelakia, by its activity, appears rather a borough of Holland, than a village of Turkey. This village spreads, by its industry, movement, and life, over the surrounding country, and gives birth to an immense commerce, which unites Germany to Greece by a thousand threads. Its population has trebled in fifteen years, and amounts at present (1798) to four thousand, who live in their manufactories, like swarms of bees in their hives. In this village are unknown vices and

cares engendered by idleness; the hearts of the Ambelakiots are pure and their faces serene; the slavery which blasts the plains watered by the Peneus, and stretching at their feet, has never ascended the sides of Pelion (Ossa;) and they govern themselves like their ancestors, by their protoyeros, (primates, elders,) and their own magistrates. Twice the Mussulmen of Lanissa attempted to scale their rocks, and twice they were repulsed by hands that dropped the shuttle to seize the musket.

"Every arm, even those of the children, is employed in the factories; while the men dye the cotton, the women prepare and spin it. There are twenty-four factories, in which yearly two thousand five hundred bales of cotton yarn, of one hundred cotton okes each, were dyed. This yarn found its way into Germany, and was disposed of at Buda, Vienna, Leipsic, Dresden, Anspach, and Bareuth. The Ambelakiot merchants had houses of their own in all these places. These houses belonged to distinct associations at Ambelakia. The competition thus established reduced very considerably the common profits; they proposed therefore to unite themselves under one central commercial administration. Twenty-five years ago this

plan was suggested, and a year afterwards it was carried into execution. The lowest shares in this joint stock company were five thousand piasters, (between six and seven hundred pounds sterling,) and the highest were restricted to twenty thousand, that the capitalists might not swallow up all the profits. The workmen subscribed their little profits, and uniting in societies, purchased single shares, and besides their capital, their labor was reckoned in the general amount, they received their share of the profits accordingly; and abundance was soon spread throughout the whole community. The dividends were at first restricted to ten per cent. and the surplus profit was applied to the augmenting of the capital; which in two years was raised from six hundred thousand to one million piasters, (twenty thousand pounds.)

'It supplied industrious Germany, not by the perfection of its jennies, but by the industry of its spindle and distaff. It taught Montpellier the art of dyeing, not from experimental chairs, but because dying was with it a domestic and culinary operation, subject to daily observation in every kitchen; and by the simplicity and honesty, not the science of its system, it reads a lesson to commercial associations, and holds

up an example unparalleled. In the commercial history of Europe, of a joint stock and labor company, ably and economically and successfully administered, in which the interests of industry and capital were long equally represented. Yet the system of administration, with which all this is connected, is common to the thousand hamlets of Thessaly, that have not emerged from their insignificance; but Ambelakia for twenty years was left alone.*

“At that time, however, England had invented machinery for spinning cotton, and, by prohibiting its export, had provided that all the cotton of the world should be brought to Manchester before it could be cheaply converted into cloth.

“The cotton manufactures at Ambelakia had their difficulties to encounter, but all those might have been overcome, had they not, says, Mr. Urquhart, been outstripped by Manchester.”

“They *were* outstripped and twenty years afterward, not only had that place been deserted, but others in its neighborhood were reduced to complete desolation. Native manufactories for the production of cotton

*Beaujour's Tableau de Commerce de la Greece, quoted by Urquhart. p. 47.

goods had, indeed, almost ceased to work. Of six hundred looms at Scutari in 1812, but forty remained in 1821, and of the two thousand weaving establishments at Tournovo in 1812 but two hundred remained in 1830,*

“For a time, cotton went abroad to be returned in the form of a twist, thus making a voyage of thousands of miles in search of a spindle; but even this trade has in a great degree passed away. As a consequence of these things there has been a ruinous fall of wages, affecting all classes of laborers. ‘The profits’ says, Mr. Urquhart, “have been reduced to one half, and sometimes one third, by the introduction of English cottons, which, though, they have reduced the home price, and arrested the export of cotton-yarn from Turkey, have not yet supplanted the home manufacture in any visible degree; for until tranquillity has allowed agriculture to revive, the people must go on working merely for bread, and reducing their price, in a struggle of hopeless competition. The industry, however, of the women and children is most remarkable; in every interval of labor, tending the cattle, carrying water, the spindle and distaff, as in the days of

*Urquhart, p. 150.

Xerxes, is never out of their hands. The children are assiduously at work, from the moment their little fingers can turn the spindle. About Ambelakia, the former focus of the cotton-yarn trade, the peasantry has suffered dreadfully from this, though formerly the women could earn as much in doors, as their husbands in the field ; at present (1831) their daily profit, does not exceed twenty paras, if realized for often they cannot dispose of their yarn when spun.

	PIASTRES, PARAS.
Five okes of uncleaned cotton, at seventeen paras,	2 5
Labor of a woman for 2 days, at 7 farthings a day,	0 35
Carding, by vibrations of cat-gut,	0 10
Spinning, a woman's unremitting labor for a week,	5 30
Loss of cotton, exceeding an oke of uncleaned cotton, 0	20
Value of one oke of uncleaned cotton,	Prs. 9 00

"Here a woman's labor makes but two pence per day ; while field labor, according to the season of the year, ranges from four to six pence, and at this rate, the pound of coarse cotton-yarn costs in spinning five pence. p 147.

"The labor of a woman is estimated at less than four cents per day, and 'the unremitting labor of a week,

will command but twenty-five cents. The wages of men employed in gathering leaves and attending silk worms are stated at one piastre (five cents) per day, At Salonica, the shipping port of Thessaly they were ten cents.—*Urquhart*, 268.

“As a necessary consequence of this, population diminishes, and everywhere are seen the ruins of once prosperous villages. Agriculture declines from day to day. The once productive cotton-fields of Thessaly lie untilled, and even around Constantinople itself there are no cultivated lands to speak of within twenty miles, in some directions within fifty miles. The commonest necessities of life come from distant parts; the corn for daily bread from Odessa; the cattle and sheep from beyond Adrianople, or from Asia Minor; the rice, of which vast consumption is made, from the neighborhood of Phillipopolis; the poultry chiefly from Bulgaria; the fruit and vegetables from Nicomedia and Macedonia. Thus a constant drain of money is occasioned without any visible return except to the treasury or from the property of Ulema:—*Slade's Travels in Turkey*, Vol ii. p. 143.

“The silk that is made is badly prepared, because the distance of the artisan prevents the poor people

from obtaining good machinery and as a consequence of this, the former direct trade with Persia has been superseded by an indirect one through England, to which the raw silk has now to be sent. In every department of industry we see the same result. Birmingham has superseded Damascus, where blades are now no longer made.

"Not only is the foreigner free to introduce his wares, but he may, on payment of a trifling duty of two per cent., carry them throughout the empire until finally disposed of. He travels by caravans and is lodged without expense. He brings his goods to be exchanged for money, or what else he needs, and the exchange effected, he disappears as suddenly as he came.

"'It is impossible,' says Mr. Urquhart 'to witness the many tongued caravan in its resting place for the night, and see, unladen and piled up together, the bales from such distant places to glance over the very wrappers, and the strange marks and characters which they bear without being amazed at so eloquent a contradiction of our preconceived notions of indiscriminate despotism and universal insecurity of the East. But while we observe the avidity with which our goods are sought, the preference now transferred

from Indian to Birmingham, muslins from Golconda to Glasgow chintzes, from Damascus to Sheffield steel, from Cashmere shawls to English broadcloth ; and while at the same time, the energies of the commercial spirit are brought thus substantially before us ; it is indeed impossible not to regret that a gulf of separation should have so long divided the East and West, and equally impossible not to indulge in the hope and anticipation of a vastly extended traffic with the East, and of all the blessings which follow fast and revelling in the wake of commerce.'—p. 133.

"Among the 'blessings' of the system is the fact that local places of exchange no longer exist. The store-keeper who pays rent and taxes has found himself unable to compete with the pedlar who pays neither ; and the consequence is that the poor cultivator finds it impossible to exchange his products small as they are, for the commodities he needs, except on the arrival of a caravan, and that has generally proved far more likely to absorb the little money in circulation, than any of the more bulky and less valuable products of the earth.'

"As usual in purely agricultural countries, the whole body of cultivators is hopelessly in debt, and the money

lender fleeces all. If he aids the peasant before harvest, he must have an enormous interest, and be paid in produce, at a large discount, from the market price. The village committees are almost universally in debt, but to them, as the security is good, the banker charges *only* twenty per cent. per annum. Turkey is the very paradise of middle men, a consequence of the absence of any mode of employment except in cultivation or in trade, and the moral effect of this may be seen in the following passage :—”

“‘If you see,’ says Urquhart ‘a Turk meditating in a corner, it is on some speculation, the purchase of a revenue farm, or the propriety of a loan at sixty per cent.; if you see pen or paper in his hand, it is making or checking an account; if there is a disturbance in the street, it is a disputed barter; whether in the streets or in-doors, whether in a coffee house, a seria, or a bazaar, whatever the rank, nation, language of the persons around you, traffic, barter, gain, are the prevailing impulses; grusch, para, florin, hia, asper, amid the Babel of tongues, are the universally intelligible sounds.’”—p. 138.

“We have thus a whole people divided into two classes, the plunderers and the plundered; and the

cause of this may be found in the fact that the owners and occupants of land have never been permitted to strengthen themselves by the formation of that natural alliance between the plough and the loom, the hammer and the harrow, so much admired by Adam Smith. The government is as weak as the people, for it is so entirely dependant on the bankers, that they may be regarded as the real owners of the land and the people, taxing them at discretion ; and to them certainly inure all the profits of cultivation. As a consequence of this, the land is almost valueless. A recent traveller states that good land may be purchased, in the immediate vicinity of Smyrna, at six cents an acre, and at a little distance vast quantities may be had for nothing. Throughout the world the freedom of men has grown in the ratio of the increase in the value of land, and that has always grown in the ratio of the tendency to have the artisan take his place by the cultivator of the earth. Whatever tends to prevent this natural association, tends, therefore, to the debasement and enslavement of man.

“The weakness of Turkey as regards foreign nations is great, and it increases every day. Not only ambassadors, but consuls, beard it in its own cities ; and

it is even now denied that she has *any right* to adopt a system of trade different from that under which she has become thus weakened.* Perfect freedom of commerce is declared to be ‘one of those immunities which we can resign on no account or pretext whatever, it is a golden privilege which we can never abandon.’†

“Internal trade scarcely exists, and, as a natural consequence, the foreign one is insignificant, the whole value of the exports being but about thirty-three millions of dollars, or less than two dollars per head. The total exports from Great Britain in the last year amounted to but two millions two hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds, or eleven million dollars, much of which was simply *en route* for Persia; and this constitutes the great trade which has been built up at so much cost to the people of Turkey, and that is to be maintained as ‘a golden privilege,’ not to be abandoned! Not discouraged by the result of past efforts, the same author looks forward anxiously for the time when there shall be in Turkey no employment

* The recent proceedings in regard to the Turkish loan, are strikingly illustrative of the exhausting effects of a system that looks wholly to the exports of the raw produce of the earth, and thus tends to the ruin of the soil and its owner.

† Urquhart, p. 257.

in manufactures of any kind, and when the people shall be exclusively employed in agriculture ; and the time cannot, he thinks, be far distant, as ‘a few pence more or less in the price of a commodity will make the difference of purchasing or manufacturing at home.’*

“Throughout the book, he shows that the rudeness of the machinery of cultivation is in direct ratio of the distance of the cultivator from the market; and yet he would desire that all the produce of the country should go to a distant market to be exchanged, although the whole import of iron at the present moment for the supply of a population of almost twenty millions of people, possessing iron ore, fuel, and unemployed labor in unlimited quantity, is but twenty-five hundred pounds sterling per annum, or about a penny’s worth for every thirty persons ! Need we wonder at the character of the machinery, the poverty and slavery of the people, the trivial amount of commerce, or at the weakness of the government whose whole system looks at the exhaustion of the land, and to the exclusion of that great middle class of working men, to whom the agriculturalist has every where been indebted for his freedom ?

* Urquhart, p. 202.

"The facts thus far given, have been taken, as the reader will have observed, from Mr. Urquhart's work; and as that gentleman is a warm admirer of the system denounced by Adam Smith, he cannot be suspected of any exaggeration when presenting any of its unfavorable results. Later travellers exhibit the nation as passing steadily on towards ruin, and the people towards a state of slavery the most complete—the necessary consequence of a policy that excludes the mechanic, and prevents the formation of a town population. Among the latest of these travellers is Mr. Mac Farlane.* At the date of whose visit, the silk manufacture had entirely disappeared, and even the filatures for preparing the raw silk were closed, weavers having become ploughmen, and women and children having been totally deprived of employment. The cultivator of silk had become entirely dependent on foreign markets, in which there existed no demand for the products of their land and labor. England was then passing through one of her periodical crises, and it had been deemed necessary to put down the prices of all agricultural products, with a view to stop importation. On one occasion, during Mr. Mac Farlane's travels, there

* "Turkey and its Destiny," by C. Mac Farlane, Esq., 1850.

was a report that silk had risen in England, and it produced a momentary stir and animation, that, he says, ‘flattered his national vanity to think that an electric touch parting from London, the mighty heart of commerce, should be felt in a few days at a place like Biljek.’ Such is commercial centralization! It renders the agriculturalists of the world mere slaves, dependent for food and clothing upon the will of a few people, proprietors of a small amount of machinery, at ‘the mighty heart of commerce.’ At one moment speculation is rife, and silk goes up in price, and then every effort is made to induce large shipments of the raw produce of the world. At the next, money is said to be scarce, and the shippers are ruined, as was, to a great extent, experienced by those who exported corn from this country in 1847.

“At the date of the traveller’s first visit to Broussa, the villages were numerous, and the silk manufacture was prosperous. At the second, the silk works were stopped, and their owners bankrupt, the villages even gradually disappearing, and in the town itself scarcely a chimney was left, while the country around presented to view nothing but poverty and wretchedness. Every where, throughout the empire, the roads are bad,

and becoming worse, and the condition of the cultivator deteriorates ; for if he has a surplus to sell, most of its value at market is absorbed by the cost of transportation, and if his crop is short, prices rise so high, that he cannot purchase. Famines are therefore frequent, and child-murder prevails throughout all classes of society. Population, therefore, diminishes, and the best lands are abandoned, ‘nine-tenths’ of them remaining untilled;* the natural consequence of which is, that malaria prevails in many of those parts of the country that once were most productive, and pestilence comes in aid of famine for the extermination of the unfortunate people. Native mechanics are nowhere to be found, there being no demand for them, and the plough, the wine-press, and the oil-mill are equally rude and barbarous. The product of labor is, consequently, most diminutive, and its wages two-pence a day, with a little food. The interest of money varies from twenty-five to fifty per cent. per annum, and this rate is frequently paid for in the loan of bad seed that yields but little to land or labor.

“ With the decline of population, and the disappearance of all the local places of exchange, the pressure

* Mac Farlane, Vol. i. p. 46.

of the conscription becomes from year to year more severe, and droves of men may be seen ‘chained like wild beasts—free Osmanlees driven along the road like slaves to a market’—free men, separated from wives and children, who are left to perish of starvation amid the richest lands, that remain untilled because of the separation of the artisan, from the producer of food, silk, and cotton. Internal commerce is trifling in amount, and the power to pay for foreign merchandise has almost passed away. Land is nearly valueless; and in this we find the most convincing proof of the daily increasing tendency towards slavery, man having always become enslaved as land has lost its value.

“In the great valley of Buyuk-dere, once known as *the fair land*, a property of twenty miles in circumference had, shortly before his visit, been purchased for less than one thousand pounds, or four thousand eight hundred dollars.* In another part of the country, one of twelve miles in circumference had been purchased for a considerably smaller sum.† The slave trade, black and white, had never been more active;† and this was a necessary consequence of the value of labor and land.

* Mac Farlane, p. 296.

† Ibid. Vol. i. p. 37.

"In this country, negro men are well fed, clothed, and are gradually advancing towards freedom. Population, therefore increases, although more slowly than would be the case were they enabled to combine their efforts for the improvement of their condition. In the West Indies, Portugal, and Turkey, being neither well-fed, clothed, nor lodged, their condition declines ; and as they can neither be bought nor sold, they are allowed to die off, and the population diminishes as the tendency towards the subjugation of the laborer becomes more and more complete. Which of these conditions tends most to favor advance in civilization the reader may decide."

Such is Mr. Carey's account of what British free trade has done for Turkey. It was written before the present war with Russia on the one hand, and Turkey and her allies on the other, had commenced. It throws some light on the motives of England in engaging in the war. She was unwilling to have Turkey freed from British free trade. The czar called Turkey a "sick man," and wished to take charge of the invalid ; but England wished to retain the privilege of doctoring him with a little more free trade. In endeavoring to accomplish this object, England has incurred the

deepest and most indelible disgrace. Never was there exhibited such imbecility and folly, as that which the aristocratic officers of the English army at Sebastopol have shown. The rank and file, by their bull-dog courage alone, saved the English army thus far from utter annihilation. Whether that alone will ultimately save it remains to be seen.

The hypocritical pretences under which England has entered upon the war, have been exposed by a member of parliament in his place. In a British paper, just received, we find the following article :

“ Mr. Cobden has been asking some questions in the British parliament, which are found rather hard to answer. He said, ‘ Before considering other questions in relation to the war, it was necessary to ask what was its object, respecting which he could never get any intelligible notion. Some suppose it was to open the Black Sea, or the Danube, to merchant vessels, whereas both were open. Others imagined that we had a treaty with the Sultan binding us to defend him and his dominions. But Lord Aberdeen has declared that no such treaty existed before the war. There was, indeed, a strong feeling out of doors that Russia had oppressed certain nationalities, and he assumed that

the statesman's ground of war was to defend the Turkish empire against the encroachments of Russia, and to keep the states of Europe within their present limits. But were not the other nations of Europe as much interested as we in this object, and in notwithstanding a deluge of barbarism ? And had we not accomplished the object when Russia renounced all intention of invading Turkey, and as acknowledged by Lord J. Russell, made proposals of peace on the basis of the four points ? Austria and Prussia, it was said, had agreed to these terms, and they were more interested in the quarrel than we ; why, then, should we not entertain them ? We were not to be Don Quixottes, to fight the battles of the world. The destruction of Sebastopol would not prevent its re-construction or the fortification of some other port in the Black Sea. Nor would it secure Turkey, which could be safe only when its internal condition was improved, and its administration reformed, and its resources developed ; whereas war demoralized the Turks—whom, since our arrival, we had humiliated and degraded. The country had been misled into a belief that the Mahomedan population of Turkey, which was perishing, was incapable of regeneration, which was a delusion. Instead, then, of con-

tining war,—having accomplished its original object, as declared in the Queen's speech—why not take even chance of the result of accepting the proposals of peace, especially if, as Mr. Layard had predicted, the war was only beginning?"

In these remarks of Mr. Cobden, the real cause of the war leaks out, probably without any intention on his part. He says that "*Turkey could be safe only when its internal condition was improved, its administration reformed, and its resources developed*"—in other words, when it should rid itself of the incubus of British free trade. If England had not destroyed the manufactures of Turkey, Turkey would not have become a *sick man*, Russia would not have invaded her territory, western diplomacy would not have paralysed her means of resistance, and England and France would not have engaged in a war under false pretences, disgraceful alike in its motives and its conduct.

We now pass to another exhibition of the blessings of British free trade.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE HAS DONE FOR INDIA.

BEFORE the conquest of India, by the British, the people of that country were comparatively free and happy. This we learn from the testimony of British writers. "The natives of Hindoostan," says Mr. Greig, "seem to have lived from the earliest, down, comparatively speaking, to late times—if not free from the troubles and annoyances to which men in all condition of society are more or less subject, still in the full enjoyment, each individual, of his own property, and of a very considerable share of personal liberty."

The Mahomedan conquerors respected the local

institutions of the country, and permitted the people to accumulate property without interfering with the pursuits of industry. They thus protected the manufacturers of the country effectually from the pernicious system called free trade, which has since reduced them to beggary and slavery. Manufactures were widely spread, and thus made a demand for the labor not required in agriculture. "On the coast of Coromandcl" says Orme, "and in the province of Bengal, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child, is not employed in making a piece of cloth. At present," he continues, "much the greatest part of the whole provinces are employed in this single manufacture. Its progress," as he says, "includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Hindostan." "While employment," says Carey, "was thus locally subdivided, tending to enable neighbor to exchange with neighbor, the exchanges between the producers of food, or of salt, in one part of the country; and the producers of cotton and manufacturers of cloth in another, tending to the production of commerce with more distant men, and this tendency was much increased by the subdivision of the cotton manufacture itself. •Bengal was celebrated for the

finest muslins, the consumption of which at Delhi, and in Northern India generally was large, while the Coromandel coast was equally celebrated for the best chintzes and calicoes, leaving to Western India the manufacture of strong and inferior goods of every kind. Under these circumstances, it is no matter of surprise that the country was rich, and that its people, although often over-taxed, and sometimes plundered by invading armies, were prosperous in a high degree."

"Nearly a century has now elapsed," says Mr. Carey, "since, by the battle of Plassy, British power was established in India, and from that day local action has tended to disappear, and centralization to take its place. From its date to the close of the century, there was a rapidly increasing tendency towards having all the affairs of the princes and the people settled by the representatives of the company established in Calcutta, and as usual in such cases, the country was filled with adventurers, very many of whom were wholly without principles, men whose sole object was that of the accumulation of fortune by any means, however foul, as is well known by all who are familiar with the indignant denunciations of Burke. England was thus enriched

as India was impoverished, and as centralization was more and more established."

We might give the details of the oppressive system of taxation and exaction by which the British have brought the people of India into a state of complete and literal slavery. Their system of taxation has reached a point unparalleled in history. One half of the gross produce of the land is the average annual rent, although in many cases it greatly exceeds that amount. The Madras Revenue Board, May 17, 1817, stated that the conversion of the government share of the produce of lands is in some districts as high as sixty or seventy per cent. of the whole.

This statement sufficiently illustrates the effects of the British domination in India, as applied to that part of the population of India which is engaged in agricultural pursuits; but our present object is to show the operation of British free trade in destroying the manufactures of that country.

By a quotation above, cited from Orme, we have shown the former existence of a flourishing manufacture of cotton cloth. Much of this cloth was exported, and it will be in the recollection of many of our readers, that previous to the war of 1812, an article of muslin,

commonly called India cotton, was extensively used in this country. The following extract from Mr. Carey's work, will show how this branch of manufacture has been destroyed by British free trade.

"India is abundantly supplied with fuel and iron ore, and if she has not good machinery, the deficiency is not chargeable to nature. At the close of the last century, cotton abounded, and to so great an extent was the labor of men, women, and children applied to its conversion into cloth, that, even with their imperfect machinery, they not only supplied the home demand for the beautiful tissues of Dacca and the coarse products of Western India; but they exported to other parts of the world no less than two hundred millions of pieces per annum.* Exchanges with every part of the world were so greatly in their favor, that a rupee which would now sell for but one shilling and sixpence, or forty-four cents, was then worth two smillings and eightpence, or sixty-four cents. The Company had a monopoly of collecting taxes in India, but in return it preserved the control of their domestic market, by aid of which they were enabled to convert their rice, their salt, and their cotton, into cloth that could be cheaply

* Speech of Mr. G. Thompson, in the House of Commons.

carried to the most remote parts of the world. Such protection was needed, because while England prohibited the export of even a single collier who might instruct the people of India in the mode of mining coal—or of a steam engine to pump water, or raise coal, or a mechanic who could make one—or of a worker in iron who might smelt the ore—or of a spinning-jenny or a power-loom, or of an artisan who could give instruction in the use of such machines—and thus systematically prevented them from keeping pace with improvements in the rest of the world,—she at the same time imposed very heavy duties on the produce of Indian looms received in England. The day was at hand, however, when that protection was to disappear. The Company did not, it was said, export sufficiently largely of the produce of British industry, and in 1813, the trade to India was thrown open—*but the restriction on the export of machinery and artisans was maintained in full force*; and thus were the poor and ignorant people of that country exposed to ‘unlimited competition’ with a people possessed of machinery ten times more effective than their own, while not only by law deprived of the power to purchase machinery, but also of the power of competing in the British mar-

ket with the product of British looms. Further than this, every loom in India, and every machine calculated to aid the laborer, was subject to a tax that increased with every increase in the industry of its owner, and in many cases absorbed the whole profit derived from its use.* Such were the circumstances under which the poor Hindoo was called to encounter unprotected, the ‘unlimited competition’ of foreigners in his own market. It was freedom of trade all on one side. Four years after, the export of cottons from Bengal skill amounted to one million six hundred and fifty-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four pounds sterling;† but ten years later it had declined to two hundred and eighty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-one pounds sterling; and at the end of twenty years, we find a whole year pass by without the export of a single piece of cotton cloth from Calcutta, the whole of the immense trade that existed, but half a century since, having disappeared. What were the measures used for the accomplishment of the work of destroying a manufacture that gave employment and food to so many millions of the poor people of the

* “The Slave-Trade: Foreign and Domestic.” By H. C. Carey, p. 113.

† Chapman’s Commerce and Cotton of India, p. 74.

country, will be seen on a perusal of the following memorial, which shows that while India was denied machinery, and also denied access to the British market, she was forced to receive British cottons free of all duty.

PETITION OF THE NATIVES OF BENGAL, RELATIVE TO
THE DUTIES ON COTTON AND SILK.

Calcutta, Sept. 1, 1831.

To the Right Honorable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council for Trade, etc., The humble petition of the undersigned, Manufacturers and Dealers in Cotton and Silk Piece Goods, the fabries of Bengal:

“ SHOWETH—That of late years your Petitioners have found their business nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabrics of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year, to the great prejudice of the native manufacturers.

“ That the fabrics of Great Britain are consumed in Bengal, without any duties being levied thereon to protect the native fabrics.

“ That the fabrics of Bengal are charged with the following duties when they are used in Great Britain.

“ On manufactured cottons, ten per cent.

“On manufactured silks, twenty-four per cent.

“Your Petitioners most humbly implore your Lordships’ consideration of these circumstances, and they feel confident that no disposition exists in England to shut the door against the industry of any part of the inhabitants of this great empire.

“They therefore pray to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects, and humbly entreat your Lordships to allow the cotton and silk fabrics of Bengal to be used in Great Britain ‘free of duty,’ or at the same rate which may be charged on British fabrics consumed in Bengal.

“Your Lordships must be aware of the immense advantages the British manufacturers derive from their skill in constructing and using machinery, which enables them to undersell the unscientific manufacturers of Bengal in their own country; and, although your Petitioners are not sanguine in expecting to derive any great advantage in having their prayers granted, their minds would feel gratified by such a manifestation of your Lordships’ good will towards them; and such an instance of justice to the natives of India will not fail to endear the British government to them.

“They therefore confidently trust that your Lord-

ships' righteous consideration will be extended to them as British subjects, without exception of sect, color, or country.

"And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

(Signed by one hundred and seventeen natives of great respectability.)

"The object sought to be accomplished would not have, however, been attained by granting the prayer of this most reasonable and humble petition. When the export of cotton, woollen, and steam machinery was prohibited, it was done with a view of compelling all the wool of the world to come to England to be spun and woven, thence to be returned to be worn by those who raised it—thus depriving the people of the world of all power to apply their labor otherwise than in taking from the earth, cotton, sugar, indigo, and other commodities for the supply of the great 'workshop of the world.' How effectually that object has been accomplished in India, will be seen from the following facts. From the date of the opening of the trade in 1813, the domestic manufacture and the export of cloth have gradually declined until the latter

has finally ceased, and the export of raw cotton to England has gradually risen until it has attained a height of about sixty millions of pounds,* while the import of twist from England has risen to twenty-five millions of pounds, and of cloth, to two hundred and sixty millions of yards, weighing probably fifty millions of pounds, which, added to the twist, make seventy-five millions, requiring for their production something more than eighty millions of raw cotton. We see thus that every pound of raw material sent to England is returned. The cultivator receives for it one penny, and when it returns to him in the form of cloth, he pays for it from one to two shillings, the whole difference being absorbed in the payment of the numerous brokers, transporters, manufacturers, and operatives, men, women, and children, that have thus been interposed between the producer and the consumer. The necessary consequence of this has been that everywhere manufactures have disappeared. Dacca, one of the principal seats of the cotton manufacture, contained ninety thousand houses, but its trade had already greatly fallen off, even at the date of the memorial above given, and its splendid buildings, factories,

* Chapman's Commerce and Cotton of India, p. 28.

and churches are now a mass of ruins and overgrown with jungle. The cotton of the district found itself compelled to go to England that it might be twisted and sent back again, thus performing a voyage of twenty thousand miles in search of the little spindles, because it was a part of the British policy not to permit the spindle any where to take its place by the side of the cultivator of cotton.

"The change thus effected has been stated in a recent official report to have been attended with ruin and distress, to which 'no parallel can be found in the annals of commerce.' What were the means by which it was effected is shown in the fact that, at this period Sir. Robert Peel stated that in Lancashire, *children* were employed fifteen and seventeen hours per day, during the week, and on Sunday morning, from six until twelve, cleaning the machinery. In Coventry, ninety-six hours in the week, was the time usually required ; and of those employed many received but two shillings and nine pence or sixty-six cents for a week's wages. The object to be accomplished was that of under-working the poor Hindoo, and driving him from the market of the world, after which he was to be driven from his own. The mode of accomplishment

was that of cheapening labor and enslaving the laborer at home and abroad.

"With the decline of manufacturers there has ceased to be a demand for the services of woman or children in the work of conversion, and they are forced either to remain idle, or seek employment in the field; and here we have one of the distinguishing marks of a state of slavery. The men, too, who were accustomed to fill up the intervals of other employments in pursuits connected with the cotton manufacture, were also driven to the field, and all demand for labor, physical or intellectual, was at an end, except so far as was needed for raising rice, indigo, sugar, or cotton. The rice itself they were not permitted to clean, being debarred therefrom, by a duty double that which was paid on paddy, or rough rice, on its import into England. The poor grower of cotton often paying to the government seventy-eight per cent. of the produce of his labor, found himself deprived of the power to trade directly with the man of the loom, and forced into 'unlimited competition' with the better machinery, and almost untaxed labor of our Southern States; and thereby subjected to 'the mysterious variations of foreign markets' in which the fever of speculation

was followed by the chill of revulsion with a rapidity and frequency that set at naught all calculation. If our crops were small, his English customers would take his cotton; but when he sent over more next year, there had, perhaps, been a good season here, and the Indian article became an absolute drug in the market. It was stated some time since, in the House of Commons, that one gentleman, Mr. Turner, had thrown seven thousand pounds sterling worth of Indian cotton upon a dunghill, because he could find no market for it.

"It will now readily be seen that the direct effect of thus *compelling* the export of cotton from India was to increase the quantity pressing on the market of England, and thus to lower the price of all the cotton in the world, including that required for domestic consumption. The price of the whole Indian crop being thus rendered dependent on that which could be realized for a small surplus that would have no existence but for the fact that the domestic manufacture had been destroyed, it will readily be seen how enormous has been the extent of injury inflicted upon the poor cultivator by the forcible separation of the plough and loom, and the destruction of the power of association.

Again, while the price of cotton is fixed in England, there, too, is fixed the price of cloth, and such is the case with sugar and indigo, to the production of which these poor people are forced to devote themselves; and thus are they rendered the mere slaves of distant men, who determine what they shall receive for all they have to sell, and what they shall pay for all they require to purchase. Centralization and slavery go thus hand and hand with each other."

One more extract, from Mr. Carey's work, we introduce to show an incidental effect of British free trade in India, on the moral condition and happiness of another country—an effect at which humanity shudders:

"Calcutta grows, the city of palaces, but poverty and wretchedness grows as the people of India find themselves more and more compelled to resort to that city to make their exchanges. Under the native rule, the people of each little district could exchange with each other food for cotton or cotton cloth, paying nobody for the privilege. Now every man must send his cotton to Calcutta, thence to go to England with the rice and indigo of his neighbors, before he and they can exchange food for cloth or cotton, the larger the

quantity they send the greater is the tendency to decline in price. . With every extension of the system there is increasing inability to pay the taxes, and increasing necessity for seeking new markets in which to sell cloth, and collect what are called rents, and the more wide the extension of the system the greater is the difficulty of collecting revenue sufficient for keeping the machine of government in motion. This difficulty it was that drove the representatives of British power and civilization into becoming traders in that pernicious drug, opium.

“The very best parts of India,” as we are told,* “were selected for the cultivation of the poppy. The people were told they must either cultivate this plant, make opium, or give up their land. If they refused, they were peremptorily told they must yield or quit. The same Company that forced them to grow opium said, ‘You must sell the opium to us;’ and to them it was sold, and they gave the price they pleased to put upon the opium thus manufactured; and they then sold it to leading speculators at Calcutta, who caused it to be smuggled up the Canton river, to an island called Sintin, and tea was received in exchange.

*Thompson, Lecture on India, p. 25.

At last, however, the emperor of China, after repeated threats, proceeded to execute summary justice ; he seized every particle of opium ; put under bond every European engaged in the merchandize of it ; and the papers of to-day (1839) inform us that he has cut off the China trade, root and branch."

"Unhappily, however, the British nation deemed it expedient to make war upon the poor Chinese, and compel them to pay for the opium that had been destroyed ; and now the profits of the Indian government from poisoning a whole people have risen from one million five hundred thousand pounds, sterling at the date of the above extract, to the enormous sum of three millions five hundred thousand pounds, or sixteen million eight hundred thousand dollars, and the market is, as we are informed, still extending itself. That the reader may see and understand how directly the government is concerned in this effort at demoralizing and enslaving the Chinese, the following will show :

"For the supply and manufacture of government opium there is a separate establishment. There are two great opium agencies at Ghazeepore and Patna, for the Benares and Bakar provinces. Each opium agent has several deputies in different districts, and a native

establishment. They enter into contracts with the cultivators for the supply of opium at a rate fixed to suit the market. The land revenue authorities do not interfere, except to prevent cultivation without permission. Government merely bargains with the cultivators as cultivators, in the same way as a private merchant would, *and makes advances to them for the cultivation*. The only difficulty found is to prevent their cultivating too much, as the rates are favorable, government a sure purchaser, and the cultivation liked. The land cultivated is measured, and precaution is taken that the produce is all sold to government. The raw opium thus received is sent to the head agency, where it is manufactured, packed in chests and sealed with the company's seal.”*

It would seem to the author of this paragraph almost a matter of rejoicing that the Chinese are bound to continue large consumers of the drug. “The failure of one attempt has shown,” as he thinks—

“That they are not likely to effect that object; and if we do not supply them, some one else will; but the worst of it is, according to some people, that if the Chinese only legalized the cultivation in their own

* Campbell, p. 300.

country, they could produce it much cheaper, and our market would be ruined. But for their sakes and ours we must hope that it is not so, or that they will not find it out.”*

“Need we wonder, when gentlemen find pleasure in the idea of an increasing revenue from *forcing this trade in despite of all the efforts of the more civilized Chinese government*, that ‘intemperance increases,’ where the British ‘rule and system has been long established?’ Assuredly not. Poor governments are, as we everywhere see, driven to encourage gambling, drunkenness, and other immoralities, as a means of extracting revenues from their unfortunate tax-payers; and the greater the revenue thus obtained, the poorer become the people and the weaker the government. Need we be surprised that that of India should be reduced to become manufacturer and smuggler of opium, when the people are forced to exhaust the land by sending away its raw products, and when the restraints upon *mere collection* of domestic salt are so great that English salt finds a market in India? The following passage on this subject is worthy of the perusal of those who desire fully to understand how it is that

* *Ibid.*, p. 398.

the people of that country are restrained in the application of their labor, and why it is that labor is so badly paid :—

“‘But those who cry out in England against the monopoly, and their unjust exclusion from the salt trade, are egregiously mistaken. As concerns them, there is positively no monopoly, but the most absolute free trade. And, more than this, the only effect of the present mode of manufacture in Bengal is to give them a market which they would never otherwise have. A government manufacture of salt is doubtless more expensive than a private manufacture ; but the result of this, and of the equality of bad and good salt, is, that fine English salt now more or less finds a market in India, whereas, were the salt duty and all the government interference discontinued to-morrow, the cheap Bengal salt would be sold at such a rate that not a pound of English or any other foreign salt could be brought into the market.* Nevertheless the system is regarded as one of perfect free trade !

“Notwithstanding all these efforts at maintaining the revenue, the debt has increased the last twelve years no less than fifteen millions of pounds sterling

* Campbell, p. 384.

or seventy-two million of dollars ; and yet the government is absolute proprietor of all of India, and enjoys so large a portion of the beneficial interest in it, that private property therein is reduced to a sum absolutely insignificant, as will now be shown.

“The gross land revenue obtained from a country with an area of four hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and forty-eight square miles, or above three hundred millions of acres, is one hundred and fifty-one millions seven hundred and eighty-six thousand seven hundred and forty-three rupees, equal to fifteen millions of pounds sterling, or seventy-two millions of dollars.* What is the value of private rights of property, subject to the payment of this tax, or rent, may be judged from the following facts : In 1848-49, there were sold for taxes, in that portion of the country subject to the permanent settlement, eleven hundred and sixty-nine estates, at something less than four years’ purchase of the tax. Further south, in the Madras government, where the ryot-war settlement is in full operation, the land ‘would be sold’ for balances of rent ; but ‘generally it is not,’ as we

* Campbell, p. 377.

are told, ‘and for a very good reason, *viz.* that nobody will buy it.’ Private right in land being there of no value whatsoever—‘the collector of Salem’ as Mr. Campbell informs us—

“Naively mentions ‘various unauthorized modes of stimulating the tardy’ rarely resorted to by heads of villages, such as ‘placing him in the sun, obliging him to stand on one leg, or sit with his head confined between his knees.’*

“In the north-west provinces, ‘the settlement,’ as our author states, ‘has certainly been successful in giving a good market value to good landed property;’ that is, it sells at about ‘four years’ purchase on the revenue.’† Still further north, in the newly acquired provinces, we find great industry, ‘every thing turned to account,’ the assessment, to which the company succeeded on the deposition of the successors of Runjeet Singh, more easy, and land more valuable.‡ The value of land, like that of labor, therefore increases as we pass *from* the old to the new settlements, being precisely the reverse of what would be the case if the system tended to the enfranchisement and elevation of the people, and precisely what should be looked for

* Campbell, p. 350.

† Ibid, p. 332.

Ibid, p. 345.

in a country whose inhabitants were passing from freedom towards slavery."

With this extract we conclude the notices of the effects of British free trade in foreign countries. We might show its application to Ireland, whose manufactures were deliberately and systematically destroyed by the application of the system of British free trade to that country. The effects which followed are familiar to all intelligent people. The Irish people were ruined by it, and the country depopulated to such an extent that Great Britain can no longer obtain recruits for her armies in the "sister island;" but has recourse to German mercenaries.

We now proceed to consider the ruinous effects of British free trade on our own country.

CHAPTER IX.

WHAT FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE HAS DONE FOR THIS COUNTRY.

WITH respect to this country, the object of Great Britain has been to make us tributary to British wealth and greatness ; to enslave us, by confining us to agriculture alone and to prevent our establishing manufactures or to destroy them when established. This policy commenced in the colonial period, and has continued to the present day, as we will now prove. A British author, Joshua Gee, writing in 1750, thus sets forth the policy, "Manufactures in American colonies should be discouraged, prohibited.

"Great Britain with its dependencies is doubtless

as well able to subsist within itself as any nation in Europe. We have an enterprising people, fit for all the arts of peace or war. We have provisions in abundance, and those of the best sort, and we are able to raise sufficient for double the number of inhabitants. We have the very best materials for clothing, and want nothing either for use or luxury, but what we have at home, or might have from our colonies; so that we might make such an intercourse of trade among ourselves, or between us and them, as would maintain a vast navigation. But we ought always to keep a watchful eye over our colonies, *to keep them FROM setting up any of the manufactures which are carried on in Great Britain;* and any such attempt should be crushed in the beginning, for if they are suffered to grow up to maturity it will be difficult to suppress them."

"Our colonies are much in the same state as Ireland was in when they began the woollen manufacture, *and as their numbers increase, will fall upon manufactures for clothing themselves, if due care be not taken to find employment for them in raising such productions as may enable them to furnish themselves with all the necessities from us.*"

This is the British doctrine of free trade, set forth in its native deformity by a British writer. It was very faithfully carried out during the colonial period. During the revolutionary war, the people were too fully occupied to establish manufactures effectually. After the peace, Great Britain had still a strong party in this country, and her free trade policy was so effectually imposed upon us, that, up to the breaking out of the war of 1812, we still imported nearly all our manufactures of iron and cloth from that country. The greatest service which the war of 1812 effected for the United States was to compel its people to establish manufactories for themselves.

A cotemporary* whom we shall take the liberty of quoting at some length, thus follows the course of events, from that time forward.

"The war of 1812 found the country so nearly destitute of the means of clothing itself, that the government was unable to procure blankets or woollen cloth for its soldiers, or for the Indians to whom such commodities were due. How great was the difficulty experienced by reason of the colonial condition in which the nation had so long been kept, may be jud-

* North American, January, 1855.

from the fact that the Administration was obliged to take possession of Amelia Island, then held by Spain, for the purpose of enabling certain cargoes of cotton and woollen goods owned by Mr. Girard and others, and then at that island, to get within the Union, in defiance of the non-importation laws. Such were the straits to which we had been reduced by the constant maintenance of a policy that looked to having among us none but farmers, planters, and traders, almost entirely excluding the manufacturers.

"The war gave efficient protection to manufacturers; and four years later, as we learn from a recent report of a Committee of the House of Representatives, the quantity of cotton consumed within the Union, amounted to no less than ninety thousand bales, or one-third as much as was exported to foreign ports. The woollen manufacturers, too had largely grown, and employed a capital of twelve millions of dollars; while iron and other branches of manufacture had made great progress; and so completely had the domestic market for food, that had been thus created, made amends for our *total exclusion* from the market of Europe, that the prices of flour in this market in the years 1813 and 1814 ranged from six to ten dollars,

and of pork from thirteen and a half to seventeen dollars.

"The peace came, and our farmers found opened to them the markets of the world, by which they were to be enriched, and by way of preparation therefore the domestic market was sacrificed. Until 1818, certain branches of manufacture continued to enjoy protection ; in that year it was resolved that the duties of Congress were limited to securing a sufficient amount of revenue, and cotton and iron were condemned to suffer the fate to which had already been subjected the manufacturers of woollen cloths and hardware. The revenue, as the people were then told, was superabundant, the years 1816 and 1817 having yielded no less than eighty millions, and having enabled the treasury to make payments on account of the public debt, amounting to little short of fifty millions. It was a free trade *millennium*, and protection was then, as now, to be regarded as 'a blight.' If the artisans of the country could not live without protection let them die, and die they did. Manufactures of all kinds, of cotton, woollen and iron, almost entirely disappeared.

"As a consequence, there existed throughout the towns and cities of the Union the most intense distress,

In Philadelphia alone, with its then small population, it was found, on examination, that nearly eight thousand workmen were wholly without employment. In Pittsburg there were found two thousand ; and as all these people were deprived of the means of purchasing food, the prices of food of all kinds rapidly declined as the necessity for dependence on foreign markets became more fully established. Flour that, in this city, had in 1817 and 1818 commanded ten dollars, fell in 1819 to six dollars and a half, and in 1820 to four dollars and thirty cents ; and cotton and tobacco participated in the fall. In many parts of the country, wheat was sold at twenty-five, thirty and thirty-seven cents per bushel, and at a later period prices declined to a still lower point, and, as a natural consequence, the farmers were every where nearly, when even not quite, ruined ; and yet they were then almost entirely free from the ‘blight’ of protection, and in the almost perfect enjoyment of that which is regarded by the *Union* among the first of blessings, free trade !

“ As a natural consequence, the power to pay for foreign merchandize passed away, and the consumption which, in 1817 and 1818, had averaged ninety millions, fell in the five years from 1720 to 1824 both

inclusive, to an average of fifty millions; and yet, small as was this amount, a constant drain of the little specie that was in the country was required to pay for it, as is shown by the following figures:

	<i>Excess Imports.</i>	<i>Excess Exports.</i>
1820-21,	—	\$2,413,169.
1821-22,	—	7,440,334.
1822-23,	—	1,275,091.
1823-24,	\$1,365,283.	—
	—	—
	\$1,365,283.	\$11,128,594.
		1,365,283.
		—
Balance : : : : : :		\$9,763,311.

"We have here an excess export of nearly ten millions, and if to this be added, for wear and tear, for loss, and for consumption in the arts, only a million and a half a year, we have, in the short period of four years, a diminution of the precious metals in the country amounting to no less than sixteen millions, and yet the whole quantity had been estimated in 1818 at about thirty millions. Under such circumstances, we need feel no surprise that sheriff's sales were numerous—that the rich were made richer and the poor poorer—nor that the latter, in the effort to avoid ruin,

should in many of the States, have invoked the intervention of the Legislature for the passage of *stay-laws*, by which the sales of property were prohibited except under such circumstances as placed the creditor almost entirely at the mercy of the debtor. Such laws, as we shall have occasion to show, have always, thus far followed in the wake of free trade.

"As a consequence of all this, the revenue fell off greatly, and new loans were required for the expenses of government. The amount of debt contracted in this free trade period was no less than thirteen millions, and this for a support of government in a time of profound peace, when the total expenditure, excluding that on account of the public debt, was, in some of the years under ten millions, and averaged only twelve millions.

"Protection had delivered over to free trade a country in a state of high prosperity, with an overflowing revenue, and diminishing national debt. Six years of free trade, however, were sufficient to change the scene, and to present to the world a ruined people; a declining commerce, requiring a steady export of specie to pay the balance of trade; an exhausted treasury, and an increased national debt."

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE HAS DONE FOR THIS COUNTRY.

(CONTINUED.)

WE have shown that the war of 1812, by excluding British manufactures from this country, acted in the same way as a protective tariff, teaching the people the value of their own resources, and compelling them to establish manufactures of their own. To use the language of the authority last quoted,

“We have shown that soon after the war of 1812, protection had handed the country over to the guardianship of free trade, in a state of high prosperity, and that it had required but six years of this latter

government to produce the almost total destruction of the manufactures of the country. We have also shown that this had been accompanied by so great a diminution of the power to pay for foreign merchandize as to compel the Treasury to have resorted to loans to enable it to meet the current demands upon it, and that, too, in a period of profound peace! This state of things it was that caused the passage of the act of 1824, the first tariff act framed especially with reference to protection. It was very imperfect, and it required, of course, time to make itself felt; and the drain of specie continued throughout the fiscal year of its passage, the exports in that year having exceeded the imports by more than two and a half millions of dollars. In the following year, however, a change was produced, and the imports of the four succeeding years exceeded the exports by about four millions of dollars. It was small in amount, but considerable in its effect, for in place of an excess export of two millions a year, there was obtained an excess import of one, making a difference of three millions a year. The people became again able to pay for foreign merchandize, and the revenue, which for five years had averaged only eighteen millions, rose to an average of twenty-four

millions. The Treasury ceased to have occasion to resort to loans, and the payments on account of the public debt in the three years ending in 1828, averaged eleven millions a year, with large diminution in the amount of principal.

"Such were the results of the very imperfect measure of 1824, and by them its friends were encouraged to the far more perfect act of 1828, the first really and thoroughly protective tariff ever given to the country. Under it there was a rapid increase in the supply of gold and silver, the imports of the five years that followed its passage, having exceeded the exports by eleven millions of dollars, or about as much as the exports had exceeded the imports in the free trade period. The value of domestic exports now grew rapidly, and presented a striking contrast with the facts of that period in which the community had enjoyed the *blessings* of free trade; as is shows by the following figures:

1821,	\$43,671,000	1829,	55,700,000.
1822,	49,874,000	1830,	59,462,000.
1823,	47,155,000	1831,	61,277,000.
1824,	53,649,000	1832,	63,137,000.
Total,	\$194,349,000		239,576,000.
Average,	48,587,000		59,894,000.

"As a consequence of the increased ability to pay for foreign merchandize, the revenue grew rapidly, *each year in succession greater than its predecessor*, thus proving how steadily the people were improving in their condition, though subjected to what the *Union* is pleased to style 'the blight' of protection. The year 1828-29 gave twenty-five millions, and so did the following one, but 1830-31 gave twenty-nine millions, and 1831-32 no less than thirty-two millions, or as much as had, under the free trade system, been obtained from the two years ending in September, 1821. The payments on account of the public debt rose to seventeen millions in 1832, and left at the close of that year so small an amount unpaid, that it became necessary to establish entire freedom of trade in reference to coffee, teas, wines, silks, and other articles that could not be, or, at least, were not, produced at home. The revenue, however, still increased, and the receipts of the Treasury for 1833-34 reached the then enormous amount of thirty-four millions, and thus provided for the total extinction of the public debt, by the payment of the three per cents, all of which were held abroad, as had been a large portion of the other stocks that had been paid since the passage of the act of

1824. That year had terminated the borrowings of the Treasury, and it had required but nine years of protection to bring about the final payment of the debts of the Revolution, of the war of 1812, and of the free trade period from 1818 to 1824.

“Under free trade, as our readers have seen, the debt was increased, and, as much of it probably went abroad, our foreign debt grew, while we were at the same time exporting more gold and silver than we imported, to the extent of two and a half millions a year. In the ten years that followed the passage of the act of 1824, no debt was contracted, while the payments on account of principal and interest amounted to a hundred millions of dollars, by which our indebtedness to foreigners was diminished probably thirty millions, while the excess import of gold and silver exceeded thirty millions. Such was the ‘blight’ of protection.

“As a consequence, there existed throughout the country a degree of prosperity that had never before been known, and such was the preparation that had been made by protection for delivering the people over to the enjoyment of the blessings of free trade, promised them by the Compromise Act that came into existence at the close of 1833. By the provisions of

that Act, *one-tenth of the excess* duty over twenty per cent., was to be reduced at that date—another tenth at the close of 1835—another in each of the years 1837 and 1839—and the balance in 1841 and 1842. The reduction was, as our readers perceive, very gradual, and scarcely to be felt before 1835, except in so far as it tended to prevent the extension of manufactures, that had gone on so rapidly from 1829 to 1833. This, however, was almost unfelt, for the rapid increase in the domestic market had greatly diminished the necessity for going abroad to sell either food or cotton, and had tended much towards raising the prices to be obtained for what was sent; and thus the amount of exports, which had risen from fifty millions in 1828 to seventy in 1833, grew in 1834, '35 and '36 to eighty-one, one hundred and one, and one hundred and six millions. Thus was free trade enabled to profit by the protection that had been granted from 1824 to '34.

“Never before had the country presented such a reality of prosperity as existed in 1834, when the ‘blight’ of protection was in part removed, and when the farmers and the planters of the country were handed over to the ‘tender mercies’ of the free traders. Upon that prosperity the latter traded for several

years. The credit of the country was high, for we had done what had never before been done by any other nation, having paid off the national debt, and having to a great extent accomplished that object in the brief period that had elapsed since the passage of the protective tariff of 1824—and having in the same period rapidly and greatly increased our stock of the precious metals. Never before had free trade had so fair an opportunity for displaying its powers—for never before had any people enjoyed the same advantages that were then enjoyed by our own—and yet, at the close of another period of seven years, we find it leaving a people hopelessly indebted abroad and broken down under demands for payment that could not be complied with, and a government deeply indebted, and without the means of supporting itself without the creation of further debt.

“From 1829 to 1834, under protection, we had imported twenty-seven millions more gold and silver than we had exported, and had paid a vast amount of foreign debt. From 1839 to 1842, under free trade, we exported eight millions more than we imported, and contracted, a hundred millions of *private* foreign debt, and the amount of public debt contracted, most of which

must have gone abroad, exceeded thirty-six millions. The power to pay for merchandize that had, in 1832-33, enabled us to consume to the extent of eighty-eight millions, and that continued to grow so long as the tariff continued to afford protection, until in 1834-35 it reached one hundred and twenty-nine millions, declined, thereafter so much, that in three years ending in 1842 it averaged only ninety-six millions. In the last of these years it was only eighty-eight millions, with steady tendency to still farther decline, as the increasing demands for specie to pay the balance between exports and imports tended steadily to destroy all confidence between man and man, and confidence in the present or future value of property. Banks were every where in a state of suspension, and governments in a state of repudiation. The Federal government was driven to the use of an irredeemable paper currency, and even with that, found itself so totally unable to meet the demands upon it, that the President himself was unable to obtain his salary at the Treasury, and forced to seek accommodation from the neighboring brokers.

The domestic market for food and cotton had been destroyed, and, with the increasing necessity for de-

pendence on foreign markets, there had been a decline of prices so great that it required almost twice the quantity that would have sufficed six years before to pay the same amount of debt. Cotton fell to five and nine cents: pork and beef to eight dollars a barrel; wheat to one dollar and a quarter a bushel, and hams, lard and butter to from six to seven and a half a pound. The farmers and planters were unable to pay their debts, and now, *as before in free trade times*, stay-laws were required to protect the debtor against his creditor. Sheriffs' sales were universal, where such protection was not afforded. Merchants and manufacturers were every where ruined, and laborers and artisans of every kind, by hundreds of thousands, were unable to sell their labor, and consequently unable to procure food for their families or themselves.

"Free trade had delivered the country up to protection in 1824, with a commerce requiring a steady export of specie, and producing a steady decline of credit within and without its limits—and protection had accepted the gift. Ten years after, the latter was called upon to resign her charge, and that which she did resign was a country in the highest prosperity. Only eight years afterwards free trade had dissipated her

great inheritance, and had nothing to transfer but a country overwhelmed with debt—a treasury bankrupt, and seeking every where for loans at the highest rate of interest—a commerce ruined—and a people disgraced and beggared."

"This was the termination of the second period during which the opposite effects of protection in enriching the country, and British free trade in impoverishing it were respectively exhibited. One would naturally suppose that two such lessons might have sufficed for us; and that we might have learned wisdom from experience. But foreign influence is strong in this country, because it works under ground, in secret. British influence in particular is cunning and unscrupulous. The British aristocracy are veterans in diplomatic craft. Their diplomastists are trained to their business, while ours are all green hands; those we have abroad now, particularly green. The British overreach us in all treaties, especially reciprocity treaties.

"Besides this, the British manufacturers understand their own interest, and are willing to spend money for the purpose of forcing their system of free trade on foreign nations. They raised a fund of half a million of dollars *ostensibly* to diffuse information in the United

States on the advantages of free trade,—*really* to bribe presses and Legislatures. How successfully it was employed, will appear in what is now to be said respecting the third and last period of British free trade as applied to this country.

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE HAS DONE FOR THIS COUNTRY.

(CONTINUED.)

We are anxious that our readers should be possessed of the whole course of facts in connection with the free trade imposture of Great Britain. It is by far the most baneful and destructive form of foreign influence under which Americans suffer. It is the most formidable evil which we have to eradicate before Americans can really govern America. To meet and conquer and utterly destroy it is the first duty of true-hearted, patriotic American citizens. But to do this,

we must first fully understand what it is and how it works.

In order to bring down its history to the present day, we again have recourse to the language of the able writer last quoted, where he describes the third period of the opposite effects of protection to American industry on the one hand, and British free trade on the other. He says:

“Free trade had received the country from the hands of protection, with money flowing in from all quarters—no foreign debt—credit high abroad and at home—and prosperity universal throughout the land. Seven years later, in 1842, when called upon to surrender the control of affairs, it had to deliver up a country from which money was steadily flowing—with an immense foreign debt—with a bankrupt government—with credit annihilated at home and abroad—with a people unable to sell their labor for what was required for the purchase of food and clothing—and with a whole farming and planting interest, compelled to accept prices less by fifty per cent. than they had obtained but a few years before, when a vast domestic market had so largely diminished the necessity for depending on foreign ones.

"Under such circumstances it was that protection was called upon again to administer the affairs of government, and administer them she did in such a manner as speedily to dissipate the clouds by which the nation was every where surrounded. Her advent to power was followed by effects that seem now, when we look back to them, to have been almost magical. For a commerce with foreign nations that had required a constant export of the precious metals, she substituted one that gave us, in less than five years, an excess import of nearly forty millions, by help of which credit was every where speedily restored. The Federal government was at once enabled to effect loans, which before it could not do; but the rapidly increasing revenue, resulting from the growing power to consume foreign merchandize, speedily removed all necessity for borrowing money, either abroad or at home. State governments passed from a state of repudiation to one of the highest credit. Mills, factories, and furnaces, were again opened, and labor was in demand, and once again prosperity reigned throughout the land—and such prosperity as it had never known except in the closing years of the protective system established by the laws of 1824 and 1828.

"How wonderful were the effects of the tariff of 1842 will be seen upon the perusal of the following brief statement of facts. In 1842, the quantity of iron produced in the country but little exceeded two hundred thousand tons. By 1846 it had grown to an amount exceeding eight hundred thousand tons. In 1842 the coal sent to market was but one million two hundred and fifty thousand tons. In 1847 it exceeded three millions. The cotton and woollen manufactures, and manufactures of every kind, indeed, grew with great rapidity, and thus was made every where a demand for food, cotton, wool, tobacco, and all other products of the field, the consequences of which were seen in the fact that prices every where rose—that money became every where abundant—that farmers, and property holders generally, were enabled to pay off their mortgages—that sheriffs' sales almost ceased—and that the rich ceased to be made richer at the expense of those who were poor.

"Great, however, as was the change effected, it had but commenced when the *democracy* in Congress, elected as the friends of 'Polk, Dallas, and the tariff of 1842,' determined upon a change of policy. The domestic market had been, in a great degree, annihi-

lated by the closing of mines, mills, furnaces, and machine shops, and time was required to get them once again in motion—to collect together again the hands that, under free trade, had been dispersed to the four winds of Heaven—and to open or build new ones. All these things had been doing, and were being done, when at once protection was abolished, and the country was again handed over to the government of free trade.

"For a time, as had been the case in the years that followed the passage of the Compromise tariff of 1833, the new system was enabled to trade upon the prosperity that had been produced by the one it had supplanted. Its effects, however, soon began to exhibit themselves in the expulsion of the precious metals that had been imported in the previous period, the three years ending 1849-50, exhibiting an export greater than the import by thirteen millions of dollars. If to this be added but little more than two millions a year for wear and tear, loss, and consumption in the arts, we have twenty millions less in the country than were to be found here in 1847. Large as was this sum, it would have been quadrupled but for the fact that, instead of paying for our imports, as we had done from

1842 to 1847, we gave bonds for them, and to an amount not less probably than a hundred millions of dollars, requiring six millions a year for the payment of interest thereon. Merchandise of every kind flowed in, and gold and silver flowed out, and the consequences were seen in the stoppage of mills, mines, furnaces, machine shops, and factories of every description, and thus, as early as 1850, did we obtain evidence of the fact that free trade and prosperity never travel in company with each other. The former had broken down the country in the period from 1818 to 1824—again in that from 1835 to 1842—and now, again, it was producing effects precisely similar, short as had been its hold on power.

“California, gold however, was, then discovered, and thus was the downward movement temporarily arrested. In the first years a part of it remained among ourselves, producing every where a demand for labor, and power to pay for its products, while the demand for miners abroad to go to California and Australia, tended greatly to raise the prices of foreign coal, lead, iron, and machinery of every description, and thus to enable our own people to work to some advantage. We, therefore, opened mines, and built fur-

naces and mills, and for a time there was an appearance of prosperity that by many was supposed likely to be permanent, and to furnishes evidence that protection was no longer needed—that it had become an ‘obsolete idea,’ and that, to use the words of the *Union* it was a ‘blight.’ These men had, however, not studied the working of a system which looks to allowing the farmers and planters of the West but a single market in which to sell their food and their wool, and in which to purchase the cloth and the iron they require to consume—the system called free trade, and which looks to giving the people of Manchester and Birmingham a *monopoly* of the manufacturing machinery of the world. It is one that has ruined every country that has submitted to it, and that has ruined us whenever we have ceased to guard ourselves against it by efficient protection to our farmers and planters in their efforts to bring the spindle, the loom and the hammer to take their natural places by the side of the plough and the harrow.

“In the past five years California has supplied the world with more than two hundred millions of gold, most of which, had we smelted our own iron and made our own cloth, and had the makers of iron and cloth

consumed our own food, would have remained among ourselves, giving life to trade, and stimulating production in every part of the country. Instead of that, however, we have found ourselves forced to consume foreign cloth and foreign iron, representing almost entirely the food of Germany and Russia, and have not only been compelled to export a hundred and fifty millions of gold, but to send with it a hundred, if not over a hundred and fifty millions of bonds, so that our foreign debt now requires probably twenty millions of gold for the payment of its annual interest. We have thus exhausted our credit, and now present to the world the extraordinary spectacle of a community owning one of the largest sources of supply for money in which money cannot be borrowed except at twice, thrice, quadruple, or even quintuple the usual rate of interest. As a consequence of this, the makers of railroads—men who have largely contributed to the advance of the country—find themselves ruined. The owners of mills, furnaces, and mines, are being ruined, and from day to day we have to record the stoppage of some of the most important establishments of the country. Merchants are being ruined, for the people of the interior cannot pay their debts, and they, them-

selves, cannot long continue to pay the usurious interest that is now demanded. Banks are every where failing and credit is dying out, while money is every where being hoarded, and thus rendered useless to the community. Our streets, and those of all our towns and cities, are thronged with men who are unable to sell their labor, consequently unable to provide for their wives and children. The times of 1821 and of 1842 have returned, or are rapidly returning again, as they always return after free trade has had a few years for the exhaustion of the stock in trade that is *invariably* bequeathed to her by protection.

"The latter is, we are told a 'blight'; but the people might well desire always to be so blighted. It carried us through the war of 1812, and left us at its close in not only a sound and healthy, but highly prosperous condition. It redeemed us from the depression consequent upon the free trade measures pursued from 1818 to 1824. It redeemed us from the depth of poverty, discredit and despondency into which free trade had sunk us in 1842. It is ready now at once to restore credit, and confidence among our people—to give life to trade, and to find employment for the

thousands and hundreds of thousands that are now unemployed.

“Free trade, on the contrary is, as we are assured a blessing; but it is one of those from which we well might pray to be delivered. It found us prosperous in 1818, and it ruined us by 1823. It found us yet more prosperous in 1847, and it has almost ruined us by 1850; and now, in spite of the hundreds of millions of California gold, we find ourselves, at the close of the eight years of the tariff of 1846, surrounded every where by evidences of approaching ruin, even where the ruin has not already been fully consummated.”

The following summary history of protection and free trade in this country, during the last forty years, we clip from a New York paper. It is brief, but full of instruction.

Protection died in 1818, bequeathing to British free trade a trade that gave *an excess import of specie*—a people among whom there existed great prosperity—a large public revenue—and a rapidly diminishing public debt.

British free trade died in 1824, bequeathing to protection free trade a trade that gave *an excess export of specie*—a people more prosperous than any that had

ever then been known—a revenue so great that it had been rendered necessary to emancipate from duty tea, coffee, and many other articles that we did not produce—and a treasury free from all charge on account of public debt.

British free trade died in 1842, bequeathing to protection a trade that gave an *excess export of specie*—a people ruined, and their Governments in a state of repudiation—a public Treasury bankrupt, and begging every where for loans at the highest rate of interest—a revenue collected and disbursed in irredeemable paper money—and a very large foreign debt.

Protection died in 1847, bequeathing to British free trade a trade that gave an *excess import of specie*—a highly prosperous people—State Governments restored to credit—a rapidly growing commerce—a large public revenue—and a declining foreign debt.

British free trade has next to make its will, having nothing to bequeath but a trade that *drains us of our specie*—a people rapidly passing towards ruin—a declining commerce—and a foreign debt requiring for the payment of its mere interest at least twenty millions of dollars a year.

CHAPTER XII.

WHAT FOREIGN IMPOSTURE IN COMMERCE HAS DONE FOR THIS COUNTRY.

(CONTINUED.)

BEFORE going into details to show the effect of British free trade in reducing the industry of our country to its present prostrate and suffering condition, we will transcribe the concluding remarks of the authority last quoted, in which several very important particulars of the present condition of the country, too generally overlooked, are brought distinctly into view; and the necessity of putting an end to British influence on our affairs very forcibly argued.

“The *Washington Union* tells its readers that, ‘without fear of successful contradiction,’ it may as-

sert ‘that the tariff of 1846 has no more to do with the commercial revulsion following upon this cause, than the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill. These crises in commerce depend,’ it says, ‘altogether upon miscalculation, resulting from unforeseen changes in the financial and productive condition of the trading and agricultural world, with which we are indissolubly connected by the bonds of commerce.’ Such being the case, may we beg it to explain why it is that commercial revulsions *always* follow in the wake of free trade, and *never* in that of protection? Up to that time the country had never experienced a revulsion so serious as that which occurred in the six years that intervened between the protective tariff of 1818 and 1823. Serious, however, as was that one, it was exceeded in its severity by the revulsion of 1841–42. Being now at the outset of another, the severity of which has, as we fear, yet to be experienced—and this, after eight years of free trade—we may, as it seems to us, consider commercial revulsions, by help of which the poor are made poorer and the rich enriched, one of the regular forms of free trade with those countries with which, as we are here told, we are ‘indissolubly connected by the bonds of commerce.’ Will the *Union*

be so kind as to give us any reasons for believing that such must not be the case?

“ Again. From the time when the tariff of 1824 became operative and turned the tide of commerce so as to enable us to increase our stock of the precious metals, there were in the long period of ten years, *no revulsions* except the temporary one produced in 1832 by the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank. During that long period we went on steadily paying off our debts in Europe, and increasing our stock of the precious metals—and thereby securing ourselves against the possibility of future revulsions. And yet no sooner had free trade exhausted the stock in trade that protection had secured, than we found ourselves involved in difficulty,—our banks suspended, our government reduced to borrow money, and our people forced to beg their bread because of inability to sell their labor. Will the *Union* tell us if this was not so?

“ Further:—from 1842 to 1847 we had no revulsions. Every thing went on smoothly, and money became from day to day more abundant, as labor became from day to day more in demand, and as the power of production increased. Severe as was the

English revulsion of 1846-48, we were wholly untouched by it, because for the five years that had then elapsed, the policy of the country had looked to diminishing, instead of increasing, our dependence on foreigners—to making a market at home for food and cotton—to diminishing, not increasing our foreign debt—and to strengthening, instead of weakening, the nation. When the *Union* shall be enabled to find in our history a period when protection has given us commercial revulsions, with their attendant panics and hoarding money—or a period of free trade that has not so resulted—it will, we think, be time for it to repeat the assertion contained in the above extract, but not until then.

“The difficulty under which we now labor is, that our markets are flooded with foreign manufactures, while our own people are idle, the necessary consequence of which is, that the balance of trade is steadily against us, requiring a constant export of specie to pay the difference—and that, too, in spite of the fact that we have for years past been building up a great foreign debt, now requiring for the payment of its *interest alone*, not less than twenty millions of dollars a year. This matter of interest is steadily kept out of

sight by the Secretary of the Treasury, by the President, and by the free trade journals, and yet it constitutes the first claim upon our exports—and is so much to be added to the balance that exhibits itself on the face of the treasury statements. The value of imports exclusive of specie, in the year 1852–53, was two hundred and sixty-four millions, and that of the exports, also exclusive of specie, only two hundred and two millions, leaving an adverse balance of sixty-two millions, to which remained to be added not less than eighteen millions for the payment of interest, making a total of eighty millions, in discharge of which we sent twenty-seven millions of gold, and some thirty or forty millions of bonds representing debts that have yet to be paid. In the last fiscal year, the adverse balance was about forty-five millions, to which has to be added twenty millions for the payment of interest, making a total of sixty-five millions, in discharge of which we sent thirty-eight millions, to which has to be added twenty millions for the payment of sixty-five millions, in discharge of which we sent thirty eight millions of gold, and probably four and twenty-millions of bonds, the interest upon which has to be paid in this, the next, and every succeeding year, until

the principal shall be discharged. All this being well known to the President, to the Secretary, to the *Union*, and to its kindred journals, it may be regarded as striking evidence of their conviction of the correctness of their views that *they all so studiously avoid reference to the vast mass of public debt that is being created, or to the enormous amount of interest required to be paid, and constituting the first offset against the food and cotton we export.*

“ This perpetual drain of specie is the cause of all our present difficulties, and it is, itself a consequence of the system which looks to giving Great Britain a monopoly of the manufacturing machinery of the world. Whenever it has prevailed among us we have been forced to export specie and bonds—as in the period from 1818 to 1824—from 1838 to 1842—and from 1848 to the present time; and therefore it is that it has always been followed as it now is attended by distrust among the banks and merchants, by hoarding of specie, and by ruin to the community.

“ Credit is rapidly declining among us, and hoarding is as rapidly increasing, and both must go on until the point of ruin shall be reached, unless we have a change of policy, tending to prevent the drain that now exists.

The time has come, as we are told by the *Union*, for a change; but in what direction? Towards the adoption of a policy that shall tend to set our people to work to produce the things we now import, and thus diminish the necessity for exporting gold? Certainly not. That would be *undemocratic*, for it would tend to diminish distress among the poor, and lower the rates of interest now obtained by the rich. The change proposed is towards the further closing of mills, factories, and furnaces; the further discharge of workmen; the further dependance on Europe for a market in which to sell all we produce and buy all we need to consume; the further manufacture of bonds; and the further export of coin—all of which must inevitably produce further decline of confidence and further hoarding of the precious metals.

“That such is the tendency of the measures proposed by the dominant party in Congress is well known to our readers, and their adoption can have no other effect than that of stopping more mills, more furnaces, and more roads—the work in, or upon, which will never again be resumed until we shall have a change of policy in the opposite direction—and this is nearly as true of the measure proposed by the Secretary of

the Treasury, as by that of the Committee of Ways and Means. Neither of these will do any thing to restore confidence, or to give employment to our people, or food to their now starving wives and children. If, however, they desire to know what will do so, we will tell them. Let them repeal the act of 1846 and replace that of 1842 as the law of the land, and confidence will then, at once, be restored; for all will see that the day for exporting bonds and specie has come to an end. Money will then again become abundant and cheap. Hoarding will then cease, for all will see that property is bound to rise in value as our people become from day to day more enabled to sell their labor. Mills, factories, and furnaces, will then again be opened, and new ones will be built, making demand every where for laborers and mechanics, and giving them every where the means to purchase food and clothing, which now they have not. Roads that are now suspended will be resumed, and new ones will be made, for we shall then consume the iron made at home by help of our own food and clothing, instead of, as now, the iron of Britain made by the help of the food of Germany and of Russia. All will then again be prosperity, and merchants, manufacturers, and land owners, laborers,

mechanics, will be enabled once again to rejoice in the adoption of a system that looks to the promoting the interests of the American laborer, and not exclusively those of the foreign manufacturer and trader. The Administration that is represented abroad by Mr. Belmont—lieutenant of the great money-changers of our day—is, however, as we greatly fear, little likely to adopt any measures tending to restore confidence or to reduce the price of money. For all such we must wait for another set of men. The free trade of 1818 to 1824 gave us Adams and the tariff of 1828; that of 1835 to 1840 gave us Harrison and the tariff of 1842; and that now existing is bound to give us an American President in 1856, when, if not before, we shall certainly see a return to that policy which gave us the universal prosperity of 1834 and 1846."

CHAPTER XIII.

EXAMPLES OF THE PRESENT EFFECTS OF FOREIGN IM- POSTURE ON AMERICAN INDUSTRY.

(CONTINUED.)

A READER disposed to cavil at our argument might say that it is easy to make assertions without regard to the depression at present suffered by the industrial classes in our country; and he might challenge the proof. As we are disposed to give chapter and verse, facts and statistics for whatever we assert, we now proceed to copy from the New York Tribune, of December 18th, 1854, a detailed report of the depression of industry in that city and its vicinity, made by the reporter of the paper. Of course it is necessarily extremely imperfect, and does not cover the whole or

even half the ground ; but it exhibits enough to show that our argument rests upon a broad basis of indisputable facts :

Iron Works.—The iron business in this city is very much depressed, and large numbers of workmen are destitute of employment. In a recent tour through the foundries and machine-shops, we learned that upon the average not more than one half the men are now employed, and the anticipations of the future hold out still gloomier prospects. In Brooklyn, some five hundred men in this business have been recently thrown out of employment, and about a like number are now at work—many of them, however, upon half-time. One shop that employs a large number of hands has discharged a quarter of them and put the rest on three-quarters time, and expects to be compelled to discharge still more.

Messrs. Stillman, Allen, & Co., of the Novelty Works, under date of the 15th inst., write us concerning the iron trade : “ We consider the business at present in a very depressed condition. We have now about twenty-five per cent. fewer men in our employ than at the same season last year. Wages are falling, but are yet higher than at this time last year ; the

rise in the mean time having been considerable. It is possible for us to say more of the prospect before us, than that it is involved in uncertainty."

Printing.—Experienced men say that they have not known so great a depression of the Printing business for many years. Many of the leading offices have discharged two-thirds of their hands, and have reduced the remainder to two-thirds of a day's work. A large number of journeymen printers have left the city—others are working a day or two in the week as substitutes in the offices of the daily journals; but many more are totally destitute of work. The scale of prices, as established by the Union, has not been materially departed from as yet, that we can learn, although employers say that a considerable reduction must take place unless business improves, and that right speedily.

Stereotypers.—This business, as a consequence, exhibits much the same state of depression as pervades that of Printing. At this time last year, it was impossible to obtain sufficient assistance to get out the works in progress. Now, not more than one-third of the Stereotypers are employed.

Type Founders.—In this branch scarcely anything

is doing. We are informed that one house alone in this city, for the past month, showed a decline of business to the extent of some forty thousand pounds of type, as compared with the same period of last year.

Book-Binding.—In the same category this branch of book-making may be classed. At a recent meeting of the Book-binder's Association it was stated that the business had never been worse. The Tract Society, Bible Society, Methodist Book Concern, Harper's, and other establishments had either discharged a number of their hands or reduced their hours of labor. Of the thousand men engaged in this branch of industry between two and three hundred are now out of work.

Building.—The Builders have scarcely any thing under way. Many of the Masons, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Plumbers, and others have left the city, to seek employment elsewhere. A large contracting Mason estimated the quantity of business now doing in his profession at about one-eighth of that of the same period in 1853. He says that not more than one thousand of the five to seven thousand usually employed in New York are now at work. Workmen, who last year commanded two dollars per day, can

now be hired upon any street corner for one dollar and fifty cents per day; and Laborers, who then commanded ten to twelve shillings, are fortunate now if employed at one dollar a day.

House-carpenters are among the principal sufferers. Many of the small employers have closed their shops; the more extensive master carpenters have greatly reduced the number of their hands, and curtailed the hours of labor of those yet at work. We have not heard that wages have been reduced in this branch. It is scarcely necessary to speak of the condition of the ship-yards, as some weeks since we gave an extended statement of their business. The majority of the operative ship-carpenters in this city, numbering many hundreds of men, are now out of employment, and the number deprived of labor daily augments, by the completion of the work in progress. At a recent meeting of the ship-owners and agents in this city, it was resolved to reduce the wages of ship-carpenters from three dollars to two dollars and fifty cents per day. It has been estimated that at least one half of the ship-carpenters in New York are unemployed. In the nine ship-yards of Williamsburgh and Greenpoint, employing, on the average, in good seasons, an aggregate of

one thousand persons, only two hundred and thirty-seven men are now at work.

The depression of this branch of industry necessarily affects large numbers of operatives in other professions, as rope-makers, block-makers, curriers, riggers, and a host of others.

The Plasterers are no better off than the Housecarpenters. Although this branch of labor does not employ near so many persons as the other, yet in proportion, the number unemployed is equally great. The head of an extensive firm in the Plastering business assures us that not more than one-sixth, or about two hundred men, are now at work. Many of these can not now command more than ten shillings a day, where twelve months ago they readily obtained fifteen.

Of the fifteen hundred Plumbers, it is estimated that not more than one-half are employed. We could not hear of any reduction of the wages, although in many shops the hours of labor have been reduced.

Other Trades.—The Brass-founders and Brass-finishers share in the general depression. Nearly all the employers have reduced the hours of labor to one-half.

With the tanners and Morocco-finishers no marked change has taken place, that we could hear of.

Umbrella Makers.—This business shares in the general depression. We were informed by one manufacturer, that where he employed three hundred persons last year, there are now only forty.

Hatters.—Not more than thirty per cent. of the average force in this business is now employed. Wages have not been affected as yet, nor have the hours of labor been abridged with those who are at work.

Tailors.—About one-half of the Tailors in New York are out of employment. A leading wholesale manufacturer of Clothing informs us that, next Saturday, at least one thousand persons who are now at work will be discharged. Wages have not been reduced as yet. We are informed that from five to six thousand Tailors in this city (mostly females) do not know where to get the next job from. The prospects are dull in the extreme; the wholesale trade is said to be dead.

Dry Goods.—There has been a great falling off in the wholesale trade, estimated at sixty per cent. The retail trade is reviving, for a short time, on account of the holidays. There are some few exceptions—Stewart, for example, with whom business has rarely been better. They say they have sold as many costly

resses as ever. Stewart says women are more extravagant than in former years. He thinks the present stringency in the money market will cause a great decline in the amount of importations in the next spring, and a consequent increase in the consumption of home manufactures.

We have received reports of a like tenor from the Jewelers, Piano-makers, Billiard-table-makers, Cabinet-makers, Manufacturers of Hardware, Picture-frames, Looking-glasses, Clocks, and Artificial Flower-makers, and Boot and Shoemakers. All concur in stating that times were never worse with them; many have discharged large numbers of work-people, and reduced the hours of labor of the others.

The Soap and Candle-makers are said to have been less affected by the "hard times," than almost any other business, probably from the fact that the major part of the work in this trade is performed in the winter and spring months.

Organ-builders are also exempt from the general depression, probably owing to the length of time for which orders are given ahead, and occupy to be completed.

It is well known that upon many of the steamships

sailing from this port the wages of firemen and coal-passers have been reduced some twenty to twenty-five per cent. and a very strenuous effort is being made to reduce the rates of compensation upon all of them.

The Erie Railroad Company has reduced the wages of laborers employed in loading freight, and repairing the track, from one dollar to eighty cents per day, which is the rate of wages paid to the same class of hands last winter. It was deemed better to thus reduce the amount of compensation than to throw any of the men entirely out of employment. It is not likely that the men will refuse to come into this arrangement, as to remain idle through the winter would be a hazardous experiment.

From the same paper, we copy the following account of the depression of industrial interests in other parts of the country, as manifested previously to the 18th of December, 1854. Of course the situation of affairs has varied but little since.

From different parts the prevailing cry of "hard times" is echoed and re-echoed far and near.

In DETROIT, Michigan, several hundred workers in iron have recently been thrown out of employment.

In BUFFALO, between three and four hundred men

in the iron business have been thrown out of employment. The Saratoga and Sackett's Harbor Railroad, after one hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been expended upon it, and debts to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars been contracted, has been discontinued, throwing out of work some five thousand laborers, who are said to be suffering greatly in the northern wilderness. The snow is upon them and it is feared that many, particularly women and children will die of cold and starvation.

In NEW JERSEY the same stagnation is apparent. *The Burlington Gazette* says :

“A large proportion of the hands at Cooper’s Rolling Mill, at Trenton, were discharged a few days since, in consequence of the proprietors turning their attention to another branch of iron work. On Saturday last, a man fell down in the streets of Trenton from faintness and exhaustion caused by hunger. *He had not tasted any thing for three days.* At Newark the manufacturers are complaining, and at Plainfield, where hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of clothing is annually made, there is but little doing. We understand that the shoe trade is also suffering. It is well known that at least one-tenth of the inhabi-

tants of our city is engaged in the manufacture of ladies' shoes, and that tens of thousands of dollars are paid out in the course of the year to binders and journeymen. Prices are lower, and work is less abundant than it was a few months since."

PENNSYLVANIA suffers no less than her sister States. *The Reading Gazette* says :

"The recent and unexpected reverse which has overtaken the iron trade—so prosperous during the last two years—is, we are sorry to say, having its effect upon the iron establishments in this country. We learn that the Lessport Iron Company, and the Messrs. Ecker, have countermanded orders for a considerable quantity of machinery which they intend to increase the productive capacity of their works, and are making preparations for a considerable reduction of their business, to meet the hard times which stare them in the face. We greatly fear that we shall shortly be compelled to notice the discharge of many workmen from our manufactories."

In PHILADELPHIA great numbers of workmen have been dismissed ; the Messrs. Norris alone, discharged six hundred from their locomotive works.

The Germantown Telegraph, speaking upon the same subject, adds :

“Even in the iron business, in which the proprietors of some of the principal establishments were threatened with the crime of becoming millionaires in a few days, the tables are turned, and their burdens are greater than they can bear. Some of the largest have either failed, suspended work, or reduced the number of their workmen to one half. And their wages from twenty to twenty-five per cent. The result of this is, that thousands of first rate artisans are thrown out of work on approach of winter, with families depending upon them for support. But it is not only the workers in iron who suffer—in nearly all the manufacturing branches, trades, not sparing the merchant, who is a principal sufferer, the same condition of things exists. Even the printing business—seldom sensibly effected by the times—is in a most depressed condition.”

The Telegraph asks, “What are the causes that produce these hard times?” and replies;

“It is because we are great buyers abroad, instead of being great buyers at home. We send all our money

to Europe, to pay for goods that we should manufacture ourselves."

The Wilmington Republican says:

"One hundred hands have been discharged by one establishment in that city, twenty by another, and a few by others. The difficulty of procuring funds to make payment is assigned as the reason for this curtailment of the number of workmen."

"In Norristown, on Monday morning last, Messrs. Thomas, Carson & West reduced the wages of those in their employ twenty per cent. The Swede Iron Company have also reduced the wages of their hands to a like amount."

"WOODSTOCK, Vermont, the firm of Daniel Taft & Sons, manufacturers of iron tools &c., have been compelled by the pressure of the times to stop payment. Their liabilities are stated at forty thousand dollars, and their asserts must be much larger. At White River Junction, near Lebanon, Messrs. B. Latham & Co., iron founders and manufacturers of machinery, and also of cars and steam engines, have been compelled to close their establishment. The Rutland and Washington Railroad Company owe them one hundred thousand dollars which is unavailable, at least for the

present. They employed between seventy five and a hundred hands."

In MASSACHUSETTS, affairs wear no very promising aspect. *The Boston Traveller* has the following :

"During the summer mechanics and day-laborers have commended their own prices, and it has been with difficulty that contractors and master workmen could get and keep sufficient workmen at any price. But for some weeks there has been a general falling off in the demand for men, for the simple reason that there has been a falling off of orders for work. Some manufactories have been compelled to discharge large numbers of hands, so that where there have been hundreds employed during the summer there are now few or none but the foreman and the apprentices remaining ; and other establishments which have not discharged their hands generally, have yet found it difficult to keep them employed. We understand, also, that in Worcester some of the large machine establishments, are rapidly decreasing the number of their hands, and also the number of hours during which they will employ those who remain."

From Western Virginia.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, at Parkersburg sends us the following:

"The pressure for money has placed a bar for the further construction of North Western Virginia Railroad, so important to the prosperity of this place and section of the country. Thirty days' notice, as required by their contracts, is being given to the contractors on the whole line, to cease work. This will prove exceedingly disastrous to the poor laborers, who are thus suddenly deprived of the means of subsistence at this most inclement season. God pity them. The contractors can go on provided they will take one-half of their pay in the bonds of the Company.

"Provisions are enormously high for this region. Less than eighteen months ago flour was sold at three dollars and seventy-five cents per barrel; now it is eight dollars and a half, and all other things in proportion. It is as much as people can do to live at all."

So much for the statements of the newspapers of December 1854. These are very significant facts. They are few in number, very "few and far between," compared with what might easily be accumulated by carefully examining a file of papers from all parts of the country. But they are sufficient to show that the industry of the country has been suddenly struck with paralysis.

If we inquire what is the immediate cause of this state of things, every one promptly answers, the scarcity of money. If we inquire why money is scarce, the answer is, that, under the free trade system the, importations for the last year were three hundred millions of dollars. Much of this has been paid for in *promises to pay* in the shape of Railroad bonds, state stocks, and other stocks ; but during the last half of the year these having become unsaleable abroad, the deficiency has been made up in gold and silver exported to Europe. This has diminished the specie basis of our own paper currency and greatly depreciated the value of stocks held in this country, thereby spreading alarm and panic throughout the country and causing capitalists to raise the rate of interest to double quadruple and even quintuplicate the legal rate, thereby sweeping off the profits of our business men ; merchants and manufacturers particularly ; but by no means sparing the farmers, who lose by the losses of their customers and the foreclosing of mortgages on their own lands. Those who are out of debt hoard coin, instead of leaving it in bank ; and as a result of all these circumstances money is scarce. There is no mistake about it. There is less coin in the country than there ought to be in a

healthy condition of trade; and it is rapidly being hoarded away from mere panic.

Three hundred millions of dollars, mostly spent in manufacturers which ought to be produced in this country, and, under a protective tariff, would have been produced here, is a large sum to be expended in producing national ruin and distress. This is the effect of foreign influence by which British free trade has placed a heavy burden on our shoulders—foreign influence applied to corrupt legislators and a venal press and producing the free trade tariff of 1846. California gold staved off the ruin till the eighth year. But it has come at last with a vengeance. All people are inquiring for a remedy. Doubtless there is a remedy—an American remedy, not a foreign nostrum; but an American medicine which will effect a cure. But before proceeding to consider this point, we will glance for a few moments at the remedy which is seriously proposed by the foreigners who have settled among us. It is among the most remarkable of the signs of the times.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FOREIGNERS' REMEDY FOR HARD TIMES.

UNDER our present system of naturalization laws, administered as they generally are by corrupt politicians, foreigners, most of whom never were permitted to vote or hold office in their own countries, are allowed to vote here a few days after they are landed. The effect of this indulgence is exactly what might have been anticipated. Ignorant and presumptuous, they are not satisfied to adopt American views or learn the tendency of American institutions; but they bring forward all the exploded European heresies, and endeavor to make them current here. They wish to instruct us how to govern ourselves, and they preach

for political doctrine Fourierism, agrarianism, and that particular form of red republicanism, which consists in overturning the foundations of society, and dividing the property acquired by the industrious among the idle and dissolute.

In particular localities of this country, where these foreign adventurers happen to be numerous, they endeavor to take the direction of political affairs entirely into their own hands; and where quiet voting or peaceable cheating at the polls wont answer the purpose, rioting and the bludgeon are resorted to.

The city of New York is particularly unfortunate in this particular; and it is one of the blackest signs of these dark times, that being our commercial metropolis, it is the most un-American city in the United States. Thousands upon thousands of foreigners arrive there almost every day, and great numbers of them remain in the city. There, Scroggs's from Birmingham and Manchester live by cheating the revenue of its dues. British merchants monopolize a great proportion of the commerce of the city, and aid with great alacrity in displaying to this country the blessings of British free trade. The Irish Catholics in the city are counted by tens of thousands. Germans

are so numerous that in some streets of the city, German is the only language which one hears ; and French red republicans find in New York a forum for their declamations, and apparently hope to find a theatre for displaying their talents at overturning, or at least overawing governments and dictating the terms on which *ouvriers* shall be supported in the Parisian style.

Recently, since by the aid of foreign influence and British free trade, the industrial classes of this country have been thrown out of employ in great numbers, the foreigners of New York perforce have to suffer with the rest. Their distress is represented as being very great. Many thousands of them are out of employ. They have held frequent meetings for the purpose of devising a remedy for the evils under which they are suffering ; and the remedy upon which they have finally fixed is marked by that impudence and audacity which is the too frequent characteristic of foreigners in this country. It is to *demand* from our municipal and national governments an appropriation of money and lands for their support. This is cool, to say the least ; and some of our readers may doubt the correctness of our assertion.

In order to silence such doubters, we will give a

specimen of the declarations of these foreigners, made through their mouth-pieces, at a public meeting held in New York, on the 15th of January, 1855. The proceedings are announced in the *Herald*, of the 16th, under the following characteristic heading.

FASHION AND FAMINE.

EIGHT THOUSAND UNEMPLOYED WORKMEN IN FIFTH AVENUE,
MONSTER MASS MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON PARADE
GROUND AND THE PARK.

PROCESSION OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

WHAT THEIR SPEAKERS SAID.

ADDRESSES—RESOLUTIONS.

&c., &c., &c.

The report says, "A mass meeting of the unemployed workmen was announced to come off yesterday afternoon, at the Washington Parade Ground, at three o'clock. Long before the hour published vast crowds might be seen wending their way to the scene of the proposed meeting, and by the time they were called to order there could not have been less than five thousand persons in the Parade Ground and vicinity."

Then follows the advertisement and the address delivered by the chairman Mr. Ira B. Davis, in which the designs and *demands* of this mob of foreigners are set forth. We copy this address; and desire the reader to take notice, that the charity of New York is spurned, the opening of the city, state, and national treasuries for their relief is *demanded*, and in case of refusal intimations of riot and violence to ensue, are distinctly given. Here is the address.

“Fellow citizens—You have been called together this afternoon by the united action of the committee appointed at the late meeting at Hope Chapel, together with the committee of conference composed of delegates from various movements that have been laboring to devise means to relieve the great distress of the producing classes. It is well known to you that almost superhuman exertions have been and still are being made to assuage the sufferings of the destitute, and we feel grateful for the generosity that is manifested by those who have contributed, but we also know that the disease is too deeply seated to be healed by any temporary charity that may be extended. (Cheers.) We know that there are but slight inducements for capitalists to invest their money in trade,

and therefore the charity that may be extended will fall far short of accomplishing the designs of the donors ; (cheers;) and when they learn that notwithstanding their contributions the evil is not abated, but has daily and fearfully increased, and no prospect of trade reviving by private enterprise, they will become accustomed to the cry of the destitute, and, tired of contributing longer, their purse-strings will be tightened; and when charity is no longer extended to those broken in spirit that accept of it now, their distress will render them frantic; and in their wild despair they are more to be dreaded than those too proud to accept charity, but simply demand the opportunity to labor. (Sensation.) In view of this melancholy picture of distress, and at the great distance at which relief can be rationally expected from a reviving of trade through the ordinary channels, and the incompetency of any movement of charity to supply the wants of the unemployed ; and feeling assured that in this extremity it is not only just that we should demand of our governments of the city, state and nation, some extra exertions to repair the evils that have resulted from unwise legislation hitherto—(cheers)—under these circumstances, your committee have con-

cluded that the demand set forth in the memorial presented to the Common Council by the committee from Hope Chapel, was conceived in wisdom, and is demanded in justice. (Cheers.) The building upon the public lands of the city would furnish direct employment to many thousands of mechanics and laborers, and by their being employed, with their wages they would be better enabled to support their families with the necessities of life, and thus by the purchase of the products of other trades give a general stimulus to business, so that every class of citizens, laborers and traders, would share the benefit that would flow from this act. (Cheers.) And though the renting of these houses at cheap rents to those that would occupy them, and the necessary reduction of rents in other parts of the city, that would result from the building of these houses, yet the capitalists would not be so seriously affected as many of them fear; for the general improvement of the condition of the people, and the rents from their buildings would greatly reduce the rate of taxation; and if these property holders are not heavily taxed they cannot complain if they do not receive such high rents, for it is the taxes they urge as the excuse for their demanding such heavy rents.

(Cheers.) Yes, fellow citizens, the adoption of this policy by our city would reflect honor upon our city government, be a blessing not only to our own citizens but to the civilized world, for it would point out a more wise and equitable system than has hitherto been adopted. (Cheers.) And in this hour of distress will you be denied this just request? (No, no, no.) Will you allow these men to treat your petitions with contempt—and the men who inhabit those palaces that surround you, whose storehouses are filled to repletion, who have perhaps never done a useful day's labor in their lives, to laugh at your misery and mock at your attempts at redress? (No, no, no.) And though we know the property they possess is the result of our handiwork, yet we say to them and to our legislators, the time has come when this system of plunder must be in some measure abated. Let them keep what they have got, but they must not oppose our seeking reform. (Cheers.) And we also ask of our general government that a stop shall be put to the system of land monopoly, for it is a fact that we are not only the tenants of domestic capitalists, but foreign, and often to the crowned heads and titled aristocrats of the old world; for they—knowing the

unsafety of their positions in this day of growing intelligence, when men are learning what are their rights and losing their reverence for monarchy—many of them, purchase large tracts of land in this country as a retreat, for which they make the occupants pay heavy rents or a large advance on the price ; and, therefore, Congress is called upon to limit the quantity that shall be held, and make it free to the actual settler. And as there is a large surplus of money in the treasury, they should assist the hardy pioneer to settle it, which would make the nation happy and prosperous, and the government honored by the whole human race. And now, fellow workmen, you must learn this important fact—that your interests are one and the same—no matter what land gave you birth, or what religion you profess ; that the property of society is produced by labor, and capitalists flourish best when they can obtain labor cheapest, and every device is practised by them to keep the working classes from fraternizing, lest they should discover their true relations, and by that union obtain them. Therefore, national and religious prejudices are stimulated by these men among the workers, and then they smile at you with duplicity. But now you must unite as brothers, striv-

ing for great principles, the realization of which will make all happy and friendly with each other."

Thus far Mr. Davis. If this is not an incendiary speech, and if the cheers and no, no, noes, do not indicate an incendiary disposition, we are at a loss to conceive how an incendiary speech could be framed, or a disposition to violence and riot expressed by words. In the address and resolutions which follow, the case is argued and the conclusion drawn that the city treasury of New York, the public lands of the state, and those of the United States, together with certain millions of dollars in the treasury—number of millions not specified—should forthwith be placed at the disposal of this New York mob, chiefly composed of foreigners. This is the foreigners' remedy for hard times. To show that we do not misrepresent the case, we give the address and resolutions, read by Mr. John Commerford and adopted *by acclamation!*

ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS.

"WHEREAS, various editors of papers and others have taken upon themselves to direct the action of the unemployed in our city and vicinity; and whereas these persons seem to think that the people have no right to

look for relief from the municipal, state, or general governments. We, the destitute and aggrieved parties, deny the soundness of such theory; that the position is unsound, facts and the practice of legislation must prove. That it was the intention of some of the originators of our form of government that it should be sternly just, and free from the dispensation of favors to individuals or classes in its operation, is true. Without the intention of claiming to be as well versed in the metaphysical analysis of what a government should be, as those who assume to teach us where we should halt in our expectations—in our experience we gather the knowledge that, in no conventional arrangement that ever led to the existence of government, was it supposed that the result of such convocation would ensure the equal protection of every member of the state. Is it not too true, in the necessity for the formation of a new or separate organization of government, that those who shaped its existence and launched it on its career for good or evil, where those whose station, desire and interest impelled them to appropriate to themselves all the advantages of the compact. In the formation of our system of government it is useless to deny that we have escaped the predominat-

ing influences. The history of the creation of the system which gives us our vitality as citizens, shows that, in the struggle to bring forth the security of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' there were two opinions—one, that government should be held as an active coadjutor or medium, through which no inequality in condition of individuals or classes should be evoked or fostered; that a government to be effective should be wielded by aggregating to itself the power of its motion, by the centripetal and concentrative action which it could manifest by restricting or extending its favors, whenever it chose to exercise these functions. Thus, we see, that while the first axiom, as stated, has been received as a correct idea of a republican, and, therefore, just government, the second has been the prevailing and practical application of the general and state governments. It is not with the theory of our government that we find fault, but with its practice. With the evidence of the baneful effects which have brought upon our wives and children the paralysis and curse of want of employment, through the action and favoritism of our legislation, shall we be told to cease our murmurings and not call upon our representatives to proceed and make us equitable res-

titution for the injuries which years of mislegislation have inflicted? Shall our complaints be dishonored by those who look to the state and general treasuries of the people as their own exclusive property? Shall those who have received the millions that have been appropriated to individuals, states, railroads, and the various companies who confederate for the purpose of swelling the army of accumulating plunderers, tell us to down and wallow in the inferiority of the condition with which they have provided us? As men who are sensible of the injustice which is practiced by those who, in our hour of calamity, arrogantly school us to patiently succumb to the dreadful circumstances by which we are surrounded, we will say to our advisers, ‘Is it possible that you hold in your hands a scale that in its adjustment is always made to preponderate on the side of those who instruct the balance where to fall?’ Does not the venality of our instructors betray the motive of their attack? Whenever we are satisfied, by palpable demonstration, that by precedent we have no right to exact labor and subsistence by legislation, or wherever it can be established that no individual or class has claimed and received protection through the action of government, then and not until then shall we

listen to a species of sophistry that is as insulting to our self respect as disgusting to our intelligence and discrimination. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That in obedience to the wishes of the great multitude who are at present in a state of destitution, we come again to this body, to invoke its aid to shield them from the further visitation and continuance of the sufferings with which they are afflicted. Entertaining the opinion that your wish to alleviate the condition of the afflicted is apparently clouded by the restraints imposed by the laws enacted by the state for your government, we respect your intention to discharge your obligations. Whilst we thus measure the nature of your position, we are nevertheless convinced that you have the power to remove the obstructions arising from the laws under which you act. An application by you to our representatives at Albany for the alteration or suspension of any law that conflicts with the interest, protection, or welfare of our citizens, must have its paramount weight. The thousands who are out of employment know not where to look for relief, but to you. Where can they look but to their immediate representatives? In their hour of need, they conjecture that you are the great committee of

ways and means, whose duty it is to provide for their famishing and shelterless families. Gentlemen, we feel that the greatest weight of responsibility is unexpectedly forced upon you. Never, since the organization of this government, has any one state, city, or locality been visited with the sad spectacle of seeing over one hundred thousand men, women, and children bereft of employment and the means of living. In the consideration of the consequences of this unlooked for prostration of the elements of vigorous industry, there are but two alternatives to fall back upon.

“*First*, To extricate the people from the gloomy prospect of want and despair, which is even now wringing from them the bitter lamentations which precede the wild determination of turbulence and crime.

“*Second*, That you may escape the necessity of bringing into action the means or the weapons with which tyranny is accustomed to sustain itself, whenever it is called upon to render justice or mercy to those from whom it has extracted their last farthing.

“Although this committee are satisfied that the visitation of this fearful calamity has not been the result of chance, and notwithstanding they are fully acquainted with the causes which have produced this

state of things, they again reiterate the declaration that the laboring classes are in no way answerable for the condition in which they are found. If they have been made tributary in producing the present evils, it is only where they have exhibited their negligence in the selection of the proper agents who could protect them from that disastrous results of the corrupt and unwise legislation of the period.

"Resolved, That our municipal authorities are hereby requested to obtain from the legislature of this state the passage of such alterations in any article of the existing charter of this city as may give the above named functionaries the power to levy taxes sufficient to collect a revenue for the immediate employment of such numbers of unemployed workingmen as may be deemed necessary.

"Resolved, That we also ask for the suspension of that part of the present laws which gives the power to the landlord of ejecting the tenant from his premises, when such occupant, from want of employment, is unable to pay for the use of such shelter; and further, that the state shall indemnify the landlords for any loss that may accrue from said suspension.

"Resolved, That as the unemployed workingmen

will not remain the recipients of charity, they call upon the members of the Common Council to assist them in demanding from the Legislature that the lands belonging to the state be set apart and distributed, free of charge, and that the division of the amount be allotted in proportion to the number of applicants.

“*Resolved*, That this meeting solicit the aid of our city authorities in calling upon our representatives at Washington to insist upon the immediate passage of a homestead bill that will secure the actual settler the unrestricted use of one hundred and sixty acres of land.

“*Resolved*, That this meeting also request the Mayor, with our City Council, to join with us in calling upon Congress for the appropriation of —— millions of dollars, and that said moneys be proportionably set apart for the purchase of implements of husbandry and the means for the subsistence and conveyance of such as may need either the one or the other; and that in addition the government shall be empowered by the appropriation to assess and hold the lands of each occupant subject to payments at such stipulated periods as may be just to both parties.”

The crowd, during the delivery of Mr. Davis’s



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speech, increased enormously, and the Parade Ground seemed alive with the vast concourse.

The next proceeding was to march through the city in force, so as to menace the American inhabitants, and give them a clear intimation of what they were to expect in case the exceedingly moderate *demands* above set forth should not be complied with. The reporter says:

"A procession was then formed, so as to proceed in a body to the Park, and present the above address to the Common Council. They marched around the ground without music or banners, and certainly a rougher or more uncouth set never paraded in this city. The vastness of the crowd may be estimated from the fact that they had eighty marshals. Mr. Ben. Price officiated as Grand Marshal, assisted by Messrs. Arbuthnot, Antoine Rickel, C. L. Richter, Robert Grant, K. A. Bailey, Charles Smith, and others. The procession filed out of the Parade Ground and marched up West Washington Place to Broadway, from thence to Clinton Place. Here the cry was raised, "Let us march up Fifth Avenue, and show ourselves to the aristocracy." This suggestion was adopted, and the motley assemblage paraded up that renowned

locality, to the great astonishment of its denizens, who might be seen crowding to the windows, and staring at the unwashed and greasy workmen as they filed past their palatial residences, minus banners or music. The unemployed said nothing, but walked along silently and sternly, though one of them somewhat facetiously remarked that there was a strong smell of codfish in that vicinity. They turned down Tenth street to Broadway, and then to the Park. Here another crowd had assembled, and by the time they were organized in front of the City Hall steps, there could not have been less than twelve thousand persons present. The crowd in the line of march were drawn up in files of eight and ten deep, and when the head of the column entered the Park, the rear was in the neighborhood of Grand Street."

After the procession had entered the Park, and formed themselves in front of the City Hall, they were entertained with another series of inflammatory addresses, Mr. Ira B. Davis leading off. The concluding portion of his speech, apparently throws some light upon the motives of his remarkable activity in this business; it seems he wishes to identify himself

with these foreigners in order to secure their votes on some future occasion. He says,

"And now, when the Mayor of your city points out the evil and suggests to the Common Council the necessity of taking some measures to relieve the distress, it is for you to back him up, and all the members of the Common Council who are in your favor. (Renewed applause.) We are assembled here without reference to our political views ; we have determined, though, on this—having agreed upon certain fundamental principles which would prove a blessing to humanity, we say, whoever will take ground against this movement we will remember them hereafter—we will tell them that they shall never again represent us, and we will keep to our word. (Applause.) This we are determined to do.

Mr. Commerford, who succeeded Mr. Davis as speaker, went over nearly the same ground with respect to the remedy for hard times ; but seemed particularly anxious to induce Americans to act with the foreigners, and join them in the preposterous demands on the public lands and the public treasuries.

The report goes on to say that :—

Dr. Foerch next addressed the meeting in German,

and spoke of the condition of the laboring classes, and necessity for their immediate employment. He was followed by Mr. Macarthy, who protested on the part of his fellow workmen against the charity which had been offered by the wealthy, and said that they did not require alms—it was the right to live by labor which they were seeking to establish.

Mr. Smith made a few remarks, in the course of which he inveighed bitterly against the Common Council, which, he said, was endeavoring to starve them out by delay. He also launched forth a philippic against the Know Nothings, and said when a man came here and declared his allegiance to the American flag, he was entitled to the same protection as he who was born in the country. It appeared to him a very narrow minded prejudice that would say to a man, we will allow you the privilege of becoming a citizen of this country, but deny you all the benefits which might result from such citizenship.

Mr. Ira B. Davis—The committee who have been appointed to present the memorial to the Common Council are Mr. John Commerford, Robert Grant, Ludovico Richter. Do you approve of them?

“Yes,” “yes,” from the crowd and confusion.

It was also carried that the same committee memorialize Congress and the State Legislature on the subject mentioned in the address.

Mr. Edward P. Blankman was the next speaker. This, said he, is one of the most pitiable spectacles I have ever seen. To see this vast assemblage, this sea of upturned faces, who have come here to proclaim that men, able and willing to work, are starving in our midst. (Cheers.) We have come here to see what can be done for the poor in this the hour of their deep distress, not to discuss the propriety of holding a fancy ball at the Opera House, (laughter and applause,) and so raise money, for I am sure you would have too much manliness to accept aid from any such source. (Applause.) We do not ask that balls or festivals shall be given for the unemployed, but we ask for that to which they are entitled and should receive at the hands of their law givers. (Applause.) The City Fathers you have placed here should immediately devise some measures to employ those who are now starving so that they may have the wherewithal to maintain themselves and families through the inclement weather. The Common Council is but the organ to express your will, which to them should be law; and

if they do not obey you in your just demand, they deserve to be impeached for dereliction of duty. (Applause.) This is not a political gathering I see before me. Men of all parties are here—whigs and democrats, and maybe some Know Nothings. (Laughter.) As for myself I am a democrat, (great applause,) but I came here not as a politician, nor as desiring to influence your votes, but as a man sympathizing with the poor in their affliction. (Applause.) I am one of those who think natives and foreigners should be considered alike in this matter. No distinction should be drawn. To my mind the moment a man places his foot on these shores he becomes one of us, and is entitled to the same consideration and privileges as any native citizen. (Loud cheers.) There is a proposition now before Congress, called the Homestead Bill, to give to the people the land God gave to us all. This measure should pass, and the soil should be hereafter kept for the poor in our midst and for those who may land upon our shores. Gentlemen, the course you have adopted in seeking relief from the Common Council is a proper one, and should be persevered in. If they will not pass it to-day, come again to-morrow and use all legal means to compel them to attend to

your just demands. Stick to them till they will pass a law to afford you permanent relief. (Great applause.)

The reader will observe that this Mr. Blankman bids for the foreign vote, by expressing the opinion that all foreigners should be admitted to equal privileges with ourselves as soon as they land; and stimulates the mob before him to compel the Common Council to attend to their demands. He was succeeded by a Mr. Furlong, described by the reporter as a very young gentleman. His speech is unworthy of notice. Some one it appears, had suggested a doubt of the power of the Common Council of New York city, under the charter to apply the public money to the purpose of satisfying the clamors of a mob of foreigners. This difficulty is thus disposed of:

The *Chairman* said: As it has been urged by the Mayor and Common Council that the city charter does not give them power to afford any relief, it is suggested that a memorial be sent to Albany, requesting the Legislature, to confer on our city government sufficient power to help the poor efficiently.

This proposition was put, and declared carried, amid great applause.

Dr. E. W Underhill was the next speaker. He

had on different occasions tried to influence the members of the Common Council on behalf of the unemployed workmen. There is a remedy which will give the poor the relief they require. Ask the Legislature to appropriate half a million of dollars, to be expended in public works, so as to give them employment. Let the city government also be asked to do its share of the work. Mr. Underhill was sure that the people had some friends in the Common Council; Mr. Peter M. Scheneck was one of them; but he regretted to say that when the chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Wandell, was asked his opinion on the subject of the workingmen's memorial, he stated that he did not think that the Common Council would be justified in taking any action at all on the subject, and was decidedly opposed to the Councilmen even considering it. But the people will remember these gentlemen when they come before them for endorsement at the polls. They should not forget the poor—they receive not only thirty-two dollars a month, but also the pickings and stealings besides. (Laughter.) The rights of labor should be more attended to, so that eventually all exchanges, the land and machinery, might be in the working classes, to whom they rightfully belong. It

is nonsense to say the poor cannot be relieved by our city government; for if any defect exists in the charter, it can be amended by the State Legislature in five days, if they wish it. Mr. Underhill gave notice that a movement was now on foot, and would soon be made public, having in view the organization of a new party based on the rights of labor. Such a movement could not fail to be popular, and would result in a great good to the community. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

Here the chairman announced that the Common Council were in session, and it would be well for the meeting to adjourn, to allow the committee an opportunity to wait on the two boards.

The regular meeting at this stage of the proceedings adjourned; but a large crowd still remaining, Paul and other itinerant speakers amused and edified them until near seven o'clock in the evening.

Such is the report of the great meeting of the New York foreigners, of January the 15th, 1855, to devise a remedy for the existing hard times, brought upon the country by British free trade. The concluding remarks of the last speaker point to the formation of a new party to control the affairs of that city; a party which, judging from the declarations and demands put

forth on this occasion, might very justly be denominated the agrarian or the *plunder party*. In the speeches, made on this occasion, the idea of receiving relief from charity is repudiated, while a demand is made for employment.

If the reader will consider what happened a few days after this meeting, he will be able to appreciate the sincerity of this sentiment so far as it respects the foreigners. By the *North American*, of January 22, we learn that at the last meeting of the New York Board of Commissioners of Emigration the following curious proceeding took place :

"Mr. Fagan, superintendant of the Emigrant Commission in Canal street, appeared before the Board and stated that he had sent a number of newly arrived emigrants to several merchants, among whom were Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Minturn to supply the places of the longshore men now on a strike. When they arrived at the wharves, where they were to be employed, they were asked to go to work and they refused unless they were given a dollar and seventy five cents a day, and preferred to go back to the offices and subsist upon charity than to work for less than the wages demanded by the strikers. Mr. Fagan

also stated that it was quite a common thing for the emigrants, when offered work in the country to decline going there, preferring to remain in the city.

"Commissioner Kennedy—If these men will not work when it is given them, I move that they take their night's lodging in the street, and that we refuse to harbor them any longer.

"Commissioner Purdy—I am opposed to any such faction; it would be cruel to do so. No doubt the 'longshore men have been influencing them. Besides I can hardly blame these poor fellows, they don't wish to reduce the wages of these workmen."

The emigrants here alluded to are paupers, maintained at the public expense, in an institution over which the Board of Commissioners have jurisdiction.

They are able bodied men, and are only supported till they can procure employment. It seems that they would rather live idly than earn an honest living by work, and hence reject the offer of the merchants of one dollar and a half a day. Most people will be ready to exclaim with Commissioner Kennedy, if these men will not work when the chance is given them, let them be turned into the street. But there are also many squeamish Commissioner Purdys, who occupy public

offices, or hope to do so, and who, with an eye to popularity, say “it would be cruel” to “blame these men.”

Here we have a counterpart for the picture just given, of the grand meeting in the Park. At the meeting the foreigners demand the public lands to live on, and the public money to buy agricultural implements that they may gain an honest living by labor; in the subsequent transaction, we find the foreigners refusing to labor for one dollar and fifty cents a day, in the city and declining to go in the country at all; and then to crown the whole, when one commissioner wishes to do them justice, by refusing to support them in idleness, another bids for the foreign vote, by placing them again on the charity list.

It is the old story—foreign impudence imposing upon American forbearance; and American politicians exhibiting the basest subserviency to Foreign Influence. Surely it is high time that we had a really American party in this country to put an end to this sort of thing once and forever—if foreigners must be permitted to browbeat, insult, New York; at any rate *Americans should rule America*. Having thus learnt what is the foreigners’ remedy for the present hard times, we will now propose some American remedies.

CHAPTER XV.

THE AMERICAN REMEDY FOR HARD TIMES.

THE American people have been accustomed to practical republicanism ever since the cavaliers settled Virginia, and the Puritans, New England. Even when acknowledging the sovereignty of the king of England, they managed all their affairs upon purely democratic, or upon republican principles. Their town meetings, and their colonial legislatures became the nurseries of statesmen, every man acquired a spirit of freedom and personal independence, utterly unknown in countries which groan under the sway of absolute monarchs.

When Americans really feel that they are oppressed, or even badly governed, they have a time-honored cus-

tom of taking the matter in hand and setting it right. If one method is not feasible, they resort to another ; and never leave the business until it is settled to their satisfaction. Thus, when our ancestors wished to express their dissatisfaction with the principle of taxation without representation, they first petitioned and remonstrated. This being disregarded by the government, they entered into associations binding themselves not to use tea, the article taxed. When this produced no effect, they threw the tea into Boston harbor, or sent it back to England, or put it out of the way in some other fashion. This being resented, and force employed to produce submission to the tax, war, revolution, and independence followed, by a straight forward and natural sequence :

“Who would be free—their selves must strike the blow.”

The people—the people it is, that must rectify existing evils and restore the good old times, when labor received its just reward, and the country was not taxed and drained of its money down to the starving point, to pamper the pride and extravagance of foreign speculators.

The people have already begun to take the matter

in hand in a political way. They are already forming associations in every state of the Union, destined to protect American labor, by insisting on sound legislative enactments for that very purpose. But this takes time; and, besides, it is not all that is required in the case. We must have not only political associations for our protections. We must remember that while the statesmen of the first continental congress were preparing for revolution, the women of America were conscientiously abstaining from their favorite beverage. "No taxed tea!" was their cry from Georgia to Maine.

In the year 1840, when every kind of labor in this country was depressed to the starving point, in consequence of the free trade measures by which duties on foreign imports had been reduced to very low rates, a similar spirit was abroad in the country, and a rising up of the people took place, which has seldom been paralleled. The free trade administration was displaced, and General Harrison was elected, pledged to give us better times. Although he did not live to fulfil his pledge, a tariff was enacted in 1842, which did give us better times. Its effects was so palpable that all parties acknowledged it. Even in Pennsylvania, the election had to be carried under the party banner of

"Polk, Dallas, and the Tariff of 1842," and if ever a public man went into office pledged by the wishes of his constituents and his own sanction of them, to support a measure, Mr. Dallas was pledged to support that tariff against which he gave his casting vote in 1846. How his own state regarded his conduct was fully evinced by their deserting the administration at the next state election, and at the next presidential election.

The American people are always prompt in remedying national evils, whenever they are fully roused and wide awake to perceive the actual existence of those evils. They are fully aware at this moment that something is wrong, because LABOR—AMERICAN LABOR IS NOT REWARDED AS IT SHOULD BE. They are inquiring what it is that is wrong. Foreigners and their hireling presses are endeavoring, as usual, to put them on the wrong scent, to mystify, and humbug them with false issues so as to continue to fasten upon them the galling bondage resulting from the preference of foreign to American labor. As we have already seen in the preceding chapter, the foreigners in New York would persuade us that all is wrong, because they are not entrusted or rather presented with the public lands

and the public money in the treasury. The hireling presses tell us that all our distresses arise from extravagance and overtrading, which is not the real or chief cause of the trouble.

We say that the wrong lies in a tariff which was constructed under British influence and enacted through the foulest and most corrupt intrigues for the very purpose of destroying American manufactures, reducing the price of American cotton and other agricultural products, and thus making the United States wholly and completely tributary to British and other foreign interests. We point to the present condition of the country in proof of our assertion. We ask what has become of the gold which has been passing out of our country during the whole of the year 1854? Has it not gone to Europe to pay for manufactures of cloth and iron, which under the tariff of 1842 would have been produced here? If we manufactured the goods which ought to be manufactured here, would not these millions upon millions of specie which we have been exporting last year, have been still in the country, forming the basis of our circulating currency, stimulating and rewarding industry, gladdening the heart of the laborer, and breathing the breath of life into

our whole system of business, which now seems at the point of death.

Let any man look around and see with his own eyes what presents itself in every city, town, and village. Broadcloth coats on the backs of all who wear coats, made of the produce of the looms of Europe, while the newspapers tell us that the last broadcloth factory in America has just expired, because the tariff of 1846, through the contrivance of British agents and the influence of British gold, puts a very high duty on the import of wool to keep foreign wool out of the country, and a very low duty on cloth to enable the British to kill up and crush out our factories.

Say, Americans ! Is this bearable ? Shall we tamely look on and see American labor thus defrauded, cheated of its rights by foreign intrigue and corruption. Shall Europe for ever have the monopoly of furnishing every yard of broadcloth worn in the United States ? Now that our last broadcloth factory is ruined and shut up, shall we never have another to the end of time ? These questions are for the American people to answer—and to answer not by words but by actions. This thing is wrong. We call upon the American people to set it right.

Again—Let any man walk the streets in town or country and look about him. Will he not see silks and brocades, from the looms of Lyons, worn by women of all classes, even by servants and negro wenches. Will he not see fine lawns, calicoes, muslins, jewelry, and gew-gaws of every descriptions, all imported from Europe, and worn by our women of all classes ? Is this right ? In the name of George Washington and all true American patriots, cannot the workmen of this country produce every imaginable article of dress or decoration which it becomes a true-hearted American woman to wear ?

Our country abounds in iron ore. It is to be found in almost every state of the Union ; and whenever labor receives encouragement from our government, it is successfully and extensively wrought. But under the tariff of 1846, this branch of industry has been so effectually discouraged, that of the thousands of miles of railroads in our country, nearly all are laid with rails made in England. These are paid for in bonds bearing *interest*, sold in England. The returns for the bonds are made to this country not in money, but in British manufactured goods. Thus in every railroad that we make, we contrive twice to defraud American

labor of its rights. First, by buying rails which Americans ought to make of their own iron, and, secondly, by receiving, instead of hard cash, bales of English broadcloth and calicoes, which we might just as well produce in this country, if the people could only become sensible of their true interest.

The amount of these railroad bonds now held in England is already so considerable that the annual interest on them requires an export of California gold, which is counted by tens of millions. In fact, the whole tendency of our present system is to reward English labor and defraud the American laborer of his rights—to enrich England, and impoverish and enslave America—*enslave* is the word, for debt is only another term for slavery.

We have already remarked, that, when the American people can fully be made to understand that an existing system is wrong, they at once go to work and set it right. Do any of our readers inquire how this is to be done We answer, it must ultimately be done by enacting a tariff to protect American labor. But, as we have already remarked, this requires time. We can hardly hope for it under the present administration of the government. In the mean time, however,

much may be done by the people taking the thing in hand themselves, as they did in the old colony times, and opposing to this avalanche of foreign productions a stern determination to dispense with them as far as possible. Where there is a will there is a way; and while waiting for just and proper self-protective enactments, we may do much by an organized resistance to our foreign oppressors. In this connection our readers will permit us to quote some very apposite remarks of a cotemporary, the editor of the Philadelphia "Sun." He says,

"Our present desire is to advert to the means of Protecting American Industry and elevating American Labor, without the intervention of Congressional action. We have too long been dependent upon the workshops and manufactories of Europe, and slaves to the fashions of London and Paris. Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since that stern old patriot, *Andrew Jackson*, said it was time for us to become more Americanized, and yet his advice has been totally disregarded. We talk of protection to American industry; we find our wagon in the mire of foreign importations, and instead of putting our own shoulders to the wheels for the purpose of extrication, we call

upon Hercules or Congress for relief ! Congress may impose cent. per cent. ad valorem duties, but still the follies and frivolities of dress, the aping of the gaudy saloons of St. James or Versailles, and the spread of anti-republican luxuriousness, induce us to depend on the shuttles of Great Britain for our cloths, and the looms of France for our silks. With every great staple for asserting national independence, indigenous to our soil, we are still the ‘white slaves’ of trans-Atlantic capital, and it has now in the course of human events, become as necessary to dissolve the business bonds which have connected us with Europe, as it was necessary in 1776 to sunder our political allegiance to Great Britain, and assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle these United States.

“The Jacksonian ecphosis should become the creed of every patriot, and we should one and all determine to become more Americanized. How can this be done ! We have scores of able writers and zealous advocates of American Protection, who have theorized and sublimated the whole question, but have never shown us how it could practically be applied. Pamphleteers and

editors have appealed to Congress ; political elections have been lost and won on the Tariff question ; parties have entirely changed fronts upon it—and yet nothing has been proposed as efficient to the permanent protection of our Industry, and the elevation of our Labor. Where is the politico-economist of leisure and grasping intellect to proclaim the terms of our second Declaration of Independence, and win a renown as immortal as enwreathes the name of *Thomas Jefferson*? We see in the distant future, the gleaming of a brighter destiny, but who will point the way to attain it?

“ Since the above was written, we find in the New York *Mirror*, a paper ever earnest ‘ to strike the chord of Americanism in regard to our individual and national duty, as a people to cast off foreign fashions and cloths—to return from the universal patronage of the capital and labor of Europe, and henceforth protect our own labor, be independent and stand by ourselves ;’—a paper which justly prides itself, though ‘ others may have thought of urging the same thing, and the idea may have been partially developed in tariffs and political protective essays,’ that it ‘ took the initiative in presenting and urging it on the broad and only true grounds,—first, as a matter of duty

and necessity, if we wish to see American Industry permanently prosperous and independent—and second, as a matter of patriotic pride, of which every American should have enough to be for ever dependent on foreign products, when he or his countrymen can produce as good, or better at home;—we find the following cheering words and practical hints, which we commend to the earnest attention of men of business.

The *Mirror* says:

“This American idea smacking of no party or policy, save the people and the public good, has taken right hold of the public mind, and is already flowered and bearing fruit. It has struck its roots deep in public sentiment, and is being discussed and accepted practically throughout the country. Governors of States have endorsed it, and what is better, have donned suits of American clothes; associations and leagues are forming to strengthen and push on therevolution; the press discovers in it the solution of the great problems, ‘How shall we keep American labor bravely employed, and how prevent commercial crises and money panics?’ It was a live American idea, and we only had to ‘trot it out’ and show it up to make it every body’s favorite—the workingman’s, the manufacturer’s, and the

merchant's. Accepted and popular, the practice of it only requires to become *fashionable*, to make it universal and render its triumph complete.

"New England is astir with the 'clothe themselves, idea,' and well she may be. Let us have this American patronage of Europe's looms, and forges, and artisan shops cut off, and our own resources developed by our own skill and industry, and the factories of New England will clap their busy hands and make glad music through the length and breadth of the land. There will be no forced idlers then. The ranks of the great 'operative' army (craftsmen of all sorts) will broaden and deepen, making broader the market for the earth tiller. Measureless resources that now lie dormant, will awaken at the summons of revived industry, and a nation, nobly independent at length, will wonder at the blind folly which led it so long a captive to grace the triumphs of foreign labor. Combined with the political purification that is going forward, the realization of this new American industrial idea is the most hopeful event of the day. In truth, the new industrial, owes much to the new political idea. The dawn of a healtheir and sturdier nationality shines through both. The American is awakening to a true perception of

his duty and destiny, and he will not rest until every domestic stumbling block is removed and every foreign shackle cast off.

“But to come to the point we had in mind when we commenced this article—‘who will lead?’ not in New England, nor up North, nor out West, nor down South—but here—right here in this great city! The cauldron of industrial revolution begins to bubble—as old foreign garments drop off American suits are to be put on—American products, in preference to foreign, are to be used, and the hour for this change—wide and radical—is close at hand. Americanism is to be the fashion and the rage, as well as the quiet resolve. Who will take time by the forelock, and lead the Americanizing host? What clothesmaker, hatter, shoemaker and men of all manufacturing crafts will first hoist the banner and run out the sign—‘Protection to American Industry—American fabrics made and sold here.’ Who is shrewd enough to thrust out the first sickle for the coming harvest? What misses or mesdames will lead in dressing our women as republican American women should be dressed? Who will lead—who?”

Such is the recommendation of American writers,

who are uncorrupted by the bribery of England. Such are the views of those patriots who are desirous that Americans should rule America; and that our own workingmen should no longer walk the streets unemployed, while the looms and forges of Europe are in full activity, and a continuous stream of California gold is flowing out of our own country to pay foreign laborers and artisans and fill the coffers of foreign capitalists.

CHAPTER XVI.

HOW AMERICAN WOMEN MAY ASSIST IN APPLYING THE REMEDY.

THE women of America are better treated than those of any other country in the world. This fact is so universally admitted that we do not deem it necessary to bestow any time in arguing the point. Our women receive the greatest degree of courtesy and kindness. Their wishes are consulted on all occasions, and their convenience is studied in all our social arrangements. Hence it is that they exert an immense influence on the whole course of American life, and when any great object in the economy of life is to be attained their good will and their aid becomes indispensable.

It is especially so in the great object of relieving the present pressure of hard times.

In New England—in Boston, the cradle of the revolution, they have already been appealed to, and that successfully. There the work is already begun. We desire to see it spread throughout the land. We therefore copy from the Boston Transcript, one of the appeals which was made to the women there. In doing so, however, we must first enter our protest against one portion of the premises upon which the conclusions of the writer were founded. He assumes that the American people have been *universally* extravagant. This we deny. The great mass of the people have not been extravagant beyond their means. Such a charge implies dishonesty; and the American people are honest and honorable. The excessive imports do not result from the demands of the mass of the people for foreign luxuries, but from the iniquitous contrivances of British free trade. These luxuries are thrust upon us by foreigners; and those who have money buy and use them. But the consumers are not generally the working classes of the country. Still the effect is precisely the same. If the wealthy buy so largely of foreign luxuries that a large balance of trade is created against the country,

so as to drain off the specie, the consequent distress to the working class is inevitable, and the poor and the industrious classes are punished for the follies of the rich.

So far as iron, broadcloth, and cotton are concerned, however, all classes sin and suffer alike. They sin in not manufacturing them in our own country or rather in not compelling the government to make such protective laws as will enable the people to manufacture them for themselves; and they suffer by the hard times which always follow a period of British free trade.

But we proceed to quote the Boston article. It is entitled "Hard Times."

"Every body talks and thinks about the 'hard times'; and almost every body feels them, and knows by bitter experience, what they mean. But very few stop to consider, as carefully as they should, what is the *cause* of all the suffering and anxiety they share or witness, or what *remedy* there may be for either. Some attribute our troubles to the banks, and demand more discounts—as if the banks were not always eager to do just as much business as they *can* do lawfully and safely. Some attribute them to the great frauds

of agents, who have mismanaged the affairs of great corporations, and so created a wide distrust—as if a few unprincipled men could, by mere peculations, blight a whole land worth a million times more than they have cheated it out of. And others give other reasons for them. Each of these reasons has some weight; but no one of them is of much significance, nor could all put together produce such effects as we witness, or account for them. It is the *people*—the mass of the *people*—that make the trouble. No less power can bring about such results. The universal extravagance has caused the universal depression and anxiety, that is now felt.

“If an individual spends more than his income, every body knows that he must retrench or be ruined. If the whole nation runs into similar extravagance—a nation being only a mass of individuals—the whole nation must retrench or be ruined. In the United States, for several years back, we have been spending extravagantly, and the consequence is, that there is now a general embarrassment and trouble; and we begin to hear a cry to know the cause and find the remedy. The cause is as plain as the way to church; the remedy is equally plain, but by no means agree-

able. We have bought more than we can pay for with our present incomes. We must, therefore, retrench, or go on suffering more and more.

"That this is the true state of the case may be made clear by two examples, taken from the opposite extremes of our folly. The Secretary of the Treasury tells us that in our last fiscal year we imported thirty-three millions worth of silk goods. Silks we produce at home only in small quantities, and it is the merest luxury. We should be as warm and as well off, physically, in all respects, without spending a dollar on it. Now if we want to know what is done with it, look at the dresses of our women whose husbands and fathers cannot afford to pay for them, or at the drapery of their parlors, which are becoming mere monuments of vanity and bad taste by their heavy and inelegant extravagance. Or what, perhaps, is yet more obvious, look at our large hotels, and the people who frequent them. One of them, in New York, whose Ladies' Ordinary was lately a sight like a show at a play house, and had damask curtains in its drawing-rooms that cost fifteen thousand dollars. At the last accounts they were in the sheriff's hands. Private parlors of the same fashion are coming fast to the same end.

"But let us go to the other extreme of our folly. We are compelled to import silks if we *must* have them; but if there is any thing of which we have enough, and to spare, it is *stones*—marble and granite and the sand stone, and all kinds of stones. New England and the Middle States are full of them. But quantities are now *imported* from France! Churches and houses, in no small numbers, are built of them in New York and Brooklyn, and elsewhere. One person in New York, we understand now offers a hundred tons of them for sale. Next, we ought to hear of importing dirt to cover up our own rocks, lest the sight of them should reproach us with our senseless extravagance. Sancho, in *Don Quixote*, characterizes a man's folly by saying, he wants better bread than can be made out of wheat. Do we want better churches and houses than can be built out of Quincy and Rockport granite, or Berkshire and Vermont marble, or Connecticut sandstone? The very suggestion is ridiculous.

"But there is no need of such separate illustrations. Our importations for the last two years show our extravagance and folly, in *the gross*, just as plainly as our French silks and French building stones show them in *detail*. Take, for example, the years 1844

and 1845, and compare them with the years 1853, and 1854, and see what the Secretary of the Treasury says about them; we mean, what he says about merchandise and goods of every sort imported *and consumed* in the United States in those years, taking the amount as estimated at the place whence they were shipped.

His table runs as follows:

YEAR.	VALUE.	POPULATION.	EACH PERSON.
In 1844,	\$96,95,000	19,741,000	\$5,03
In 1845,	101,907,000	19,984,000	5,15
In 1853,	250,420,000	25,000,400	10,00
In 1854,	279,712,000	25,500,000	10,00

That is, in ten years, we have almost exactly double the average, proportion of our importations for each individual in the country. We have paid in the places where the goods were shipped, ten dollars for every man, woman and child in the United States—including the slaves—and to these ten dollars we must add charges and duties, and profits, that will bring the whole up to an average of sixteen or eighteen dollars of merchandize imported for each soul on our soil, each of the last two years. Such a monstrous fact needs only to be stated. It needs no Poor Richard

to cypher out its meaning and its consequences. If, therefore, we intend to get out of our troubles, it is plain that we must *import less*. But, to stop this ruinous importation, the people must buy less of it. It is their affair entirely. They can mend the times or make them harder, just as they choose ; and no other means or power on earth can do either.

“Now, ladies ! would you help your country out of its trouble ? Then resolve each one, and form leagues with others of your sex, to purchase no article of dress, ornament, or furniture, which is not made by your own countrymen or countrywomen ! And let the fathers, husbands, brothers, and beaux of America come to the same laudable determination ! Then shall we once more see prosperity in our land, and financial peace throughout our borders ! Take a copy of the following pledge upon a sheet of paper, and hand it round for signatures :

PLEDGE IN BEHALF OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY.

“In view of the ‘Hard Times’ arising from excessive importation, we hereby mutually promise not to purchase any article of foreign manufacture which can readily be obtained of home make, for the space of at

least one year, renewable at our pleasure. We will emulate the noble example of our mothers, during the Revolution—who refused to drink the foreign tea, or wear the foreign silk forced upon our country by British oppressors.

Signed by Martha Washington, Mrs. John Hancock and others."

Such is the Boston appeal to American women. We hope and trust that it will be responded to thorough the whole length and breadth of the land.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF THE AMERICAN REMEDY.

WE wish our readers to keep all the time distinctly in view what is the precise length and breadth of the remedy for hard times which we propose. It is the ridding ourselves of foreign influence wholly and entirely, and establishing a complete financial as well as political and social American Independence. We must put away the unclean thing entirely from our midst. Foreign goods must be dispensed with gradually at first; but, as near as may be, totally at last. Foreign notions of government and social life must be repudiated. Foreign interference in every shape must be rebuked

and excluded ; and Americans must rule America in politics, finance, and society.

Whenever these objects can be accomplished, this nation will become not only the freest, but the richest, most prosperous and happy nation in the world. Hard times will have become a matter of past history, a wonder and astonishment to our children, that shall hereafter take our places in the great theatre of action. All the branches of industry will be amply rewarded. The farmer, the manufacturer, and the trader, instead of imagining that their interests are opposed to each other, and that the protective laws which favor one class of American workmen injure another, will then learn, by happy experience, that their true interests are all identical. They will see and feel that all their past sufferings have resulted from foreign influence and the subserviency of their law-givers to foreign interests. They will know that the law which protects the American mine and the American loom, protects also the American plough. They will know that the internal exchanges and internal commerce of the country are of infinitely more value than the foreign commerce. They will learn that the first and paramount consideration of every American is the protection of

our homes; and the securing to every American workman the peaceful enjoyment of his own fire side, safe from the dread of those frightful hard times which are the result of British free trade.

War is a dreadful evil; but the last war with Great Britain was a blessing to this country, by means of the impulse which it gave to our internal commerce and home manufactures. Its effects on these important interests were immediate and lasting. We have often thought and said, that a new war with England would be preferable to the present state of things; and we have just been reminded of this opinion by an article in the New York Tribune, which we proceed to quote, as follows:

“The *Herald* is an advocate of free trade, but once and a while, unlike its compeers of *The Evening Post* and *Journal of Commerce*, it tells the truth on the other side. Thus, for instance, speculating on the effect of a war between England and this country, the *Herald* has the following:

“‘Of course, at first, the agricultural interests would suffer from the want of a market for their cotton, corn, and tobacco. But they have before been worse off in this respect than they ever could be now with a popu-

lation of twenty-six millions ; and the depression has never lasted over a year or two. Raw produce would fall in price, and so would land ; but, at the same time, manufactured articles would be enhanced, and mills and factories would rise in every quarter of the country. After a few months' inconvenience, the labor which would be thrown out of employment by the fall of agricultural produce would flock to the mills ; and would soon find there all that any man has a right to claim in this world—an opportunity of selling his labor at a remunerative price. The crisis in England would, of course, produce a corresponding crisis among the foreign merchants here ; but this too would only be a nine days' wonder. In the end—if the war or non-intercourse lasted ten or fifteen years—*this country would then be in a position to command the world.*'

"This is the simple truth, and we commend it to the reflection of all who are anxious to know how to secure to every man in the United states 'an opportunity of selling his labor at a remunerative price.' There cannot be a question that, sufficient restrictions on commercial intercourse with France, and England, and Germany, would not only render this country prosperous and powerful, but would for ever emanci-

pate it from all dependence on foreign countries for manufactured articles, whether cotton, linen, woollen, silk, or iron. But why need we wait for the awful emergency of a war, with all its bloodshed and individual miseries, to assure to every laborer ‘an opportunity of selling his labor at a remunerative price?’ A brief legislative act will do it—a simple arrangement of the tariff, which may be accomplished even without enhancing the present aggregate duties. There is not the slightest occasion to disturb our peaceful relations with one of the powers of the world, in order to achieve an end of such inestimable value to our people, and to the cause of universal freedom. Nor do we need to enact such a tariff for a period so long as that above suggested. Eight years of judicious protection will suffice to put our industry in a position to defy the hostility of the world. If, by a peaceful and inoffensive law, we can do this, why not attempt it? There is only one reason. This is, that the country is governed by southern slave-holders—with whom a few northern free-trade theorists, and unprincipled journals like the *Herald* and the *Journal*, combine to maintain the free states, and, indeed, the country at large, in a state of subserviency to European

manufacturers ; though this end is gained by depriving myriads of American laborers of the opportunity of selling their labor at a remunerative price.”

So says the *Tribune*. This paper will always have its fling at the slave-holders. But as the slave-holders are Americans and brothers, we think it would be well to leave off railing at them and call in their aid in the good cause. If they could by reasoning be made to understand that the benefits of protection to other sections of the country would redound to their interest, as it certainly would, they would cheerfully lend us their assistance.

- If the manufacture of cotton goods in this country were so effectually protected as to be increased a hundred fold, certainly the price of the raw material would be much higher than it is now. The demand for cotton in England will continue, for they must continue to manufacture it for other markets, even if ours is wholly closed to them ; and the building up of a grand system of cotton manufactures, through our whole country, north, south, east and west would give such an impulse to the culture of cotton as it never had before.

While we are defending American interests, we would

be understood to defend them all, southern as well as northern. It is these sectional broils which serve the interests of British free trade. The British maxim in their proceedings all over the world is, and always has been, "*Divide and conquer.*" This gave them their empire in India. The first conquests of Clive were founded upon this maxim. So were the successes of Hastings, and the more recent British commanders in that country. This is also their maxim in their intercourse with us. They set the north against the south by sending Thompson and other abolition missionaries to the northern states ; and by praising and flattering Mrs. Stowe ; and they set the south against the north, by making the southerners believe that the northern manufacturers are their enemies ; and the result of the whole operation is a new conquest for England, a financial conquest accomplished by British free trade laws, and resulting in sending all our California gold to London, and bringing upon the United States the crushing pressure of hard times.

Let us leave off sectional bickerings and quarrels, and look to American interests. Let us resolve to seek the welfare of the country, the whole country and nothing but the country.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

THE influence exerted by the Roman Catholic Church in this country, in education and religion is not merely passive. It is meddling and aggressive. We have in the United States a noble system of free schools, supported by taxation on the people. This system, commenced in the infancy of the colonies, by the Pilgrim Fathers, of New England, has gradually diffused itself to all parts of the country, shedding the blessings of freedom and intelligence, wherever it prevails. It has "grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength," until it has come to be recognized as the very palladium of American liberty.

This noble system, the Roman Catholic priests have been for many years endeavoring by every species of intrigue to overturn and destroy. Not content with demanding as their right that the Bible should be excluded from the common schools, thus depriving all the children frequenting them of the best and holiest means of moral instruction, they have ventured upon the further demand that a portion of the money raised by taxation, for the benefit of all, should be set aside to be applied exclusively to the support of Roman Catholic schools—a thing hitherto unheard of in the history of the republic.

The object of this proceeding is altogether worthy of the Jesuit brain that conceived it. It is nothing less than the complete overthrow of the whole system of common schools. For it is perfectly clear that if our legislators should grant this privilege to one sect, other sects would forthwith claim it; and thus the *common schools*, those in which all sects participate in equal means of instruction at the public expense would cease to exist. A more disorganizing and dangerous project could not be conceived. It has long been pursued with that unflinching perseverance by which the Jesuits have always been distinguished, and it will never

cease to be pursued, until their influence is utterly annihilated.

This scheme of the Jesuits is aggressive. It is utterly hostile to enlightened freedom and to the best interests of the country; and this they know perfectly well. But it favors their other schemes for building up a Jesuit power on the ruins of freedom, since the ignorance and superstition of the masses form the best possible foundation on which to build their superstructure of imposture and religious and political despotism.

If the system of common school education could be broken up and destroyed, then the Jesuits would have free play. Their influence would increase a thousand fold. Ignorance and superstition would cover the land as extensively as light and intelligence overspread it now. No legend would be too ridiculous, no miracle too monstrous, for the people to believe; and political power, as in many other countries where Catholicism prevails, would speedily pass into the hands of Roman Catholic priests and Jesuit confessors.

Some may suppose that the Roman Catholic church of the present day is more liberal and more favorable to education, science, and freedom, than it was in former times. But this is not so. The Roman Church

boasts that it is unchangeable. If you look into its publications, intended for diffusion among the people, you will find that they make demands on popular credulity quite as monstrous as those of the dark ages; and implicit belief is inculcated as a religious duty, whilst the least shadow of disbelief is threatened with eternal damnation to the unbeliever.

In order to show our readers that the Roman Catholic Church of the present day is as capable of the grossest imposture on the people, as it was in the darkest period of the middle ages, we will quote from a recent publication, a well authenticated and publicly known instance of a very recent date. It is entitled,

A MIRACLE OF MODERN TIMES.

“Mr. Spencer, a gentleman favorably known to the English public by his ‘Travels in Circassia,’ has given in his late work, ‘A Tour of Inquiry through France and Italy,’ the following curious account of one of those pretended miracles by which Romish priestcraft still endeavours to deceive the credulous multitude and maintain its domination over the souls of men. We quote it chiefly on account of the remarkable ingenuity which it exhibits, and the success with which the cheat

was attended among the acute and inquiring people of France in our own day.

"The miracle-worker was Rose Tamisier, a peasant girl, gratuitously educated in a convent of nuns at Sallon Bouches-du-Rhone, where eventually she became an inmate, and made herself remarkable by the frequent visits she asserted she was in the habit of receiving from certain saints and angels—above all, from the Virgin Mary. At length, waxing bolder, she declared herself endowed with a Divine commission to restore what her people denominated religion in France, and for that purpose left the convent, proceeding first to her native village, Saignon, where she and all the priests of the province asserted her first miracle was wrought, by causing, says the Abbe Andre, Rose's biographer, the growth of a cabbage, sufficiently large to feed the hungry villagers for several weeks, during a season of such universal drought that all other vegetation withered away. It was also asserted that Rose refused every species of nourishment but consecrated wafers, which angels were in the habit of purloining from the sacred pyx of the church, wherewith to feed this favorite of heaven. The saint, however, did not remain long in her birth-place. The same angelic as-

sistants, by her own account, transported Rose to the larger and more populous village of St. Saturnin. Here her fame, which had hitherto been known only to the simple vine-dressers and the mountain shepherds, spread far and wide. The Abbe declares, that 'by the intensity of her devotion she caused the representation of a cross, a heart, a chalice, a spear, and sometimes the image of the Virgin and Child, to appear on various parts of her body, at first in faint lines, and afterwards so developed as to exude blood! thereby exciting the amazement and pious admiration of every beholder.' But she now worked in the little church St. Saturnin, the crowning miracle, by causing a picture of Christ descending from the cross to emit real blood, and that in the presence of the parish priest and a numerous congregation assembled to witness the event. This took place for the first time, on the 10th of November, 1850. The scientific men of France, who sent several deputations to ascertain the existence of these singular appearances on the body of the St. of Saturnin, came to the conclusion that intense devotion, where the mind is absorbed in one subject, might from known causes without intervention of any supernatural agency, produce similar appearances, which they

termed *stygmates sanglant!* but when the statements reached them of blood oozing through the wounds painted on a picture, and at the command of a mere mortal, they confessed that science could not afford a satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon.

"The affair now assumed sufficient importance to attract the attention of the government, when M. Grave, the under prefect of the department, M. Guie-lihut, judge d'instruction, M. Jacques, substitut du procureur de la republique, and other civil and military officers were dispatched to investigate the correctness of the representations. Even Monsignor, the Archbishop of Avignon, was summoned with the higher clergy of his diocese, to behold and verify the miracle. On the day appointed by the saint for her performance, these great civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries arrayed in the costume and insignia of office, attended her invitation, together with thousands of the curious and devout from every part of the province; and to prove that no design was entertained of imposing on the credulity of mankind, the painting, at the command of his grace the archbishop, was removed from its place over the high altar, when lo! to the astonishment of the awe-struck multitude, the back, which

might have contained some machinery for carrying on the imposture, disclosed a numerous colony of spiders. Still the blood continued to flow, as fast as his grace and the prefect wiped it away with thin cambric handkerchiefs from the hands, feet, and side of the figure—and what a value did these handkerchiefs acquire ! They were immediately cut into shreds, and transmitted into every part of France. The public authorities and the clergy were satisfied, the spectators were satisfied, and the archbishop preached an eloquent sermon suitable to so great an occasion ; and, in order that every thing should be done in due form, the prefect and all the high dignitaries affixed their names and seals of high office to a public document, attesting the truth of this most mysterious phenomenon, which was forthwith dispatched to Paris, and by means of the public press circulated throughout every country in Christendom.

" Rose Tamisier was now at the very height of her fame. A pilgrimage to St. Saturnin became the fashion of the day. While the sale of tin medals bearing her effigy increased a thousandfold, she derived yet more substantial benefit from the jewelled crosses, and images of the Virgin set in diamonds, presented

to her by her numerous friends. The scientific men of France were puzzled; chemical analysis proved that undoubtedly blood it was which flowed from the picture, yet neither eye nor microscope could detect the smallest puncture in the canvass.

“ Nevertheless, a chemist of Apt, M. Eugene Colignon, at length unmasked the impostor. With much labor and research, he discovered that human blood, disgorged by a leech, loses its fibrine, and might be made to penetrate the surface of a painting, and then issue forth in small globules, according to the quantity employed; and as such blood does not coagulate for many hours, it would continue to flow from the picture, however frequently wiped off, while a single drop remained.

“ In short, the miracle was imitated successfully by this gentleman, in presence of the public authorities and the most eminent scientific men of the country, and not a doubt remained on their minds that Rose Tamisier was an impostor, particularly when it was proved that she invariably insisted on being allowed to pass some time in solitary prayer in the chapel previous to performing the miracle. The cheat having once become generally known, such a storm of public

indignation was raised as compelled the authorities to have the impostor arrested, and tried as such at Carpentras, the chief town of the district ; but the jury, influenced, as it was believed, through the confessional, declared themselves incompetent to pronounce a verdict. The affair was, however, transferred to the assizes, at Nismes, where, about the middle of November, 1851, after a long and patient investigation, aided by the laborious efforts of counsel on both sides, the saint was pronounced guilty of a fraudulent attempt to injure public morals and religion, and condemned to six months' imprisonment, with a fine of five hundred francs, and costs.

“ Since that time, nothing has been heard of Rose Tamisier from priest or bishop ; but her life, written by the Abbe Andre, and containing no mention of Colignon's discovery, continues to be circulated among the peasantry, with whom she is still the saint of the marvellous cabbage and the bleeding picture. The Church of Rome may well boast of her own unchangeability, if she, in the midst of the nineteenth century, as in the midst of the ninth, continues the patroness of falsehood and deception ; and as long as there exists among the depraved powers of fallen hu-

man nature that unaccountable capability for deceit, and thirst for importance, which are so often met with in the most shallow and uncultivated minds, so long will instruments like Rose Tamisier be found for Rome's service. Surely, if Protestants had nothing else for which to bless the Reformation, the least earnest among them must feel thankful that, in the most remote of their parish churches, no such impious fraud or subtle mockery as that which we have detailed could be practised."

So much for the Miracle of Modern Times. The story is very instructive. It suggests a number of profitable reflections. The upper classes of society in France, must be admitted to rank among the most enlightened people in the world. And yet they were completely carried away by this ridiculous imposture.

May we not suppose that much of the same sort of imposture is carried on by the Roman Catholic priests in secret now, and more of it may be expected and in a more public way hereafter? If the priests can break up the public school system, will not their whole system of superstition have a clear field for success. If Mormonism, a new delusion, could gain thousands of converts, may not the Roman Catholic religion with

its ancient traditions and its immense foreign influence, hope eventually to carry all before it ?

This story of the miracle in France certainly favors this view of the matter.

We here have an instance in which not only were the minds of the ignorant classes, so completely imbued with the idea, that this woman was commissioned by God to assist the promulgation of the doctrines of the Church of Rome, but even those of a higher order of intelligence were brought to believe in her so-called mission ; men occupying the highest position in a social point of view, assisted, by their example, in thus giving credence to the story so artfully conceived and illustrated. And thus it is, the Jesuits, by their cunning and artifices, so work upon the feelings of their subjects, as to prepare them to believe any thing, no matter how preposterous, to grasp at absolute power. In this enlightened country, a country blessed by its elevation above the power of despotism, where man has a right to "worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience," where civil and religious liberty, have united to place us on an enviable footing in contrast with the other nations of the earth, and where freedom to act and think is guaranteed ; here,

where our Pilgrim fathers, driven by persecutions at home,

“Left unstain’d what” here “they found—
Freedom to worship God.”

Here it is that the Church of Rome, not satisfied with her failure in depriving us of the incalculable benefit of our free education system, in prohibiting the reading of the Holy Word of God in our common schools, and other acts of aggression, seeks to establish and compel obedience to the laws of the Romish Church.

CHAPTER XIX.

AGGRESSIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES.

It should be constantly borne in mind that in the earnest contest, recently commenced and now going on, between the native born and Protestant party and the Roman Catholic clergy, the latter are the aggressors. They attack our institutions, and seek to undermine the foundations of civil liberty. This is the same dirty work which they have occupied themselves with in all ages and countries since the days of Hildebrand. They cannot keep their hands from it. They follow it even here, in this land of freedom, with a perseverance and audacity that is really astounding. They cannot be made to understand that the air of this country is un-

wholesome for despots. They not only assail the free institutions of Protestants, but they persecute even Roman Catholics themselves, whenever they exhibit the least disposition to assert their rights as free men in opposition to the tyranny and rapacity of their prelates.

They cannot learn that America is and must be the land of freedom, both civil and religious. Indeed, as a cotemporary* justly observes,

There is a certain class of persons in this world who never learn any thing. Insensible to the expansive spirit of the age—blind as bats to the mighty changes for the elevation of man's position in the social and political scale, which are going on all around and about them, they grope on in the darkness of the past, with a contempt of consequences which belies the hypothesis that they are imbued with any of the vitality, energy, intelligence, or quick perceptions, characteristic of the American mind. These owls never look forward to the future. The eleventh or twelfth century, when priestcraft predominated throughout continental Europe, and the minds of men, so saturated with ignorance, superstition, and barbarism, that the

* New York Express.

times well deserve the name given to them by the historians of that period—the Dark Ages—the eleventh or twelfth century, we say, is the epoch to which, if these fossils were permitted to have their way, they would roll back this glorious nineteenth century of ours. They come of the same school that put poor Galileo to death, for venturing to declare that the “world did move”—and it is never to be doubted, that had they the power, (as heaven be thanked, they have not) the Galileos of this day would share the same fate—for the same offence.

These blind men, whereof we speak, have their most fitting representative in the Romish foreign born, foreign educated (if educated at all) hierarchy, which is setting itself up on this side of the Atlantic as a “power in the state.” They have begun a struggle with the people of this country, of a daring and most desperate character. But had they only half the cunning and craft that the disciples of Ignatius Loyola have often exhibited in Europe, when they had a peculiar purpose to accomplish—these alien emissaries of an Italian potentate would not have thrown down the glove here so soon. They should have waited awhile—before provoking a contest, in which thus far they have been

worsted at every step. They have failed in prostituting our public school system to the extent they had desired and striven for ; they have failed in their nefarious assumption of the right to stop the mouths of men who choose to preach in public places, unless their preaching happened to accord with their own dogmas and belief; they have failed in the no less nefarious endeavor to procure homage, or respect even, from free born American citizens, for their imported magnates of the Bedini brand ; they have failed, signally failed, in their attempts to exercise a territorial jurisdiction in this state, by taking the church temporalities from the laity, and placing them under their own personal control. They have failed in a good many other things within the few years past,—and failed so thoroughly that one would naturally imagine they would be disposed to pause awhile, before contemplating new innovations upon the rights of the people. But no. The great difficulty with this brazen faced Hierarchy is this : they can never forget that they are not in Rome—the home of the most galling spiritual and political despotsisms on the face of the earth. They cannot be made to realize that they are in the United States of America, living, moving, and having their being among men

who are no more accustomed to clerical dictation than they are to civil despotism, coming from abroad. As they have rebelled against the one,—so depend upon it—they will never put up with the other. Especially as the world is just now having gratifying proof that a man's religion,—his duty to his God,—is now acknowledged, by American Catholics, as well as American Protestants, to be in no wise dependent upon, or subordinate to, any temporal power whatsoever,—whether that power sits on the seven hills of Rome, or in the archiepiscopal palaces of its emissaries elsewhere. The Catholics of the American Republic have often, of late, demonstrated practically, this great truth, which, in due time, will not be lost with their brethren in other lands.

The newest manifestation of this stubborn disposition on the part of the Romish Hierarchy, here, not to learn any thing from experience,—especially not to learn personal prudence, and a becoming deference to public sentiment—the sentiment even of their own flock,—is found in a difference which has arisen between the congregation of a Romish Church, at Middletown, Connecticut, and the Bishop that governs that Diocese. The facts, as we gather them from the

Hartford Courant, may be stated briefly thus:—Rev. John Brady, has been for ten years the beloved pastor of the church in question. He is nephew to Father Brady of Hartford, and, like his uncle, had rendered himself beloved by his flock, and respected by the whole Protestant community for his usefulness. Like him, by his zeal and energy he gathered a large society and erected a spacious and elegant church edifice. But, in an unfortunate hour for him, he remonstrated against the proceedings of the Bishop which had not only sent his uncle to the grave, but had persecuted him while lying in it. He had committed the offence which a Romish Bishop, in his tyranny, never forgives—he had, like a free man, and a free citizen of this land of liberty, opposed the wishes of his superior, and must be punished. On Friday last, Bishop O'Rielly entered Middletown with a new priest for the church—compelled Mr. Brady either to resign his place or be silenced, and inducted the new man in his room. The members of the congregation, of course, clung to their old pastor, but what does the Church of Rome care for the wishes of *the people*? or what respect has a Romish Bishop for the free institutions around him?

A correspondent of the New Haven *Palladium*,

writing, on Sunday morning, gives us the following account:

This morning, early, having occasion to pass the church, I saw that some one had nailed up the doors, and on the principal entrance was posted the following—“*Let no man take this down till the Bishop gives a reason for removing Mr. Brady from his beloved congregation. Let no man dare to.*”

As the hour for morning prayers drew nigh, the people began to gather around in little knots discussing among themselves the propriety of such proceedings. Soon the new priest, Rev. Mr. Manion, arrived, and after viewing the scene and tearing the paper off the door, wished to know the cause of it. An elderly man in the crowd calmly told him in substance, that the course the Bishop had seen fit to take was entirely against their wishes, for they did not want to part with Rev. Mr. Brady, as he had been so long with them and built them up as a society to what they were, and that to remove him without giving a reason to the congregation, they considered an outrage to their feelings.

Rev. Mr. Manion replied that he knew nothing about that—that he was there by the Bishop’s orders,

and if a reason was wanted, it was Rev. Mr. Brady's business to see to it,—and further, *that it was not incumbent upon the Bishop to give any reason to them, that he was delegated by Almighty God to take charge of their souls, and if he should give a reason for his actions he would be no longer Bishop.*

Delectable doctrine Mr. Manion! But a few more of these Father Brady and Buffalo Church cases, and it needs no ghost to come and tell that,—without any suggestion for advice from other quarters,—a storm may gather among the Catholics themselves, which will scatter to the winds the arrogant despotism which, holding its commission from abroad, seeks to hold them in chains, civil, political and spiritual. The foreign Bishops will have to give way to American Bishops. It will come to that in the end.

Since writing the above, we find a notice of fresh tyrannical aggressions by the Catholics on Catholics, and we quote it as the latest. (May, 1855.)

The Savannah papers state that a serious discussion is now in progress in that city, similar to the movements for independence of late years undertaken by the Roman Catholics in Buffalo, Hartford, New Haven, and in several other places in the north and west.

A writer of their own church comes out in a bold and lengthy article, and exposes the tyranny of their late Bishop Gartland, and the assumptions and falsifications of the present incumbent of the cathedral. He charges the late Bishop with having taken from them their chartered rights obtained from the Legislature, and of setting aside their very constitution and by-laws. "He changed our mode of government, took the reins completely into his own hands, and not a member of the Catholic Church had a voice in the disbursements of the revenues accruing to the Church for the maintenance of the Bishop and his Priests, or the salaried lay officers of the Church." The congregation was too Catholic to demur openly, although silently chagrined on the occasion. Georgia must legislate on this subject and give American Catholics the right to manage their own affairs without the intervention of any foreign priests.

New York has legislated on this subject; and it is a curious circumstance that the legislative proceedings, intended to restore to trustees the property hitherto held in fee by priests, should have brought out the fact that Archbishop Hughes holds the entire money power of the church in New York, having pro-

perty in his hands amounting to several millions of dollars. As General Jackson thought the institutions of the country endangered by the money power of the United States Bank, what may we not expect from the exertion of a similar money power by Roman Catholic priests? They have no board of directors to overlook their proceedings and check their intrigues. Such a state of things should alarm Protestants, since it has already spread a dire alarm among the laity of the Roman Catholics themselves. If the faithful are tyrannized over, oppressed and persecuted what may we poor heretics expect "one of these days."

CHAPTER XX.

HOW JESUITS OPERATE IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

WE have in the early part of this volume given a general account of the Jesuits, as they appear in the pages of history. To bring a sense of the danger, arising from the operations of these propagandists, more directly to our readers, we will advert to their present character and operations in stimulating mischief among the people. An article in the *Journal of Commerce*, attributed to Professor Morse, thus discloses their schemes. He says,

I have shown that a society (the “St. Leopold Foundation”) is organized in a foreign absolute government, having its central direction in the capital of that go-

vernment at Vienna, under the patronage of the Emperor of Austria, and the other despotic rulers—a society for the purpose of spreading Popery in this country. Of this fact there is no doubt. This St. Leopold Foundation has its ramifications through the whole of the Austrian empire. It is not a small private association, but *a great and extensive combination*. It embraces in its extent, as shown by their own documents, not merely the Austrian empire, Hungary, and Italy, but it includes Piedmont, Savoy, and Catholic France; it embodies the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of these countries. And is such an extensive combination in foreign countries, for the avowed purpose of operating in this country, (no matter for what purpose,) so trivial an affair, that we may safely dismiss it with a sneer? Have these foreign rulers so much sympathy with our system of government, that we may trust them safely to meddle with it, in *any way*? Are they so impotent in combination as to excite in us no alarm? May they send money, and agents, and a system of government wholly at variance with our own, and spread it through all our borders with impunity from our search, because it is nick-named *Religion*? There was a time when the Ame-

rican sensibilities were quick on the subject of *foreign interference*. What has recently deadened them?

Let us examine the operations of this Austrian Society, for it is hard at work all around us; yes, here in this country, from one end to the other, at our very doors, in this city. From a machinery of such a character and power, we shall doubtless be able to see already some effect. With its head-quarters at Vienna, under the immediate direction and inspection of Metternich, the well-known *great managing general of the diplomacy of Europe*, it makes itself already felt through the Republic. Its emissaries are here. And who are these emissaries? They are *Jesuits*. This society of men, after exerting their tyranny for upwards of two hundred years, at length became so formidable to the world, threatening the entire subversion of all social order, that even the Pope, whose *devoted subjects* they are, and must be, by the vow of their society, was compelled to dissolve them.

They had not been suppressed, however, for fifty years, before the waning influence of Popery and Despotism required their useful labors, to resist the light of Democratic liberty, and the Pope (Pius VII.) simultaneously with the formation of the Holy Alliance, re-

vived the order of the Jesuits in all their power. From their vow of "*unqualified submission to the Sovereign Pontiff*," they have been appropriately called the *Pope's Body Guard*. It should be known, that Austrian influence elected the present Pope; his body guard are, therefore, at the service of Austria, and these are the soldiers that the Leopold Society has sent to this country, and they are the agents of this society, to execute its designs, whatever these designs may be. And do Americans need to be told what *Jesuits* are? If any are ignorant, let them inform themselves of their history without delay; no time is to be lost: their workings are before you in every day's events: they are a *secret* society, a sort of Masonic order, with superadded features of revolting odiousness, and a thousand times more dangerous. They are not merely priests, or priests of one religious creed; they are merchants, and lawyers, and editors, and men of any profession, having no outward badge, (in this country) by which to be recognized; they are about in all your society. They can assume any character, that of angels of light, or ministers of darkness, to accomplish their one great end, the *service* upon which they are sent, whatever that service may be.

"They are all educated men, prepared. and sworn to start at any moment, and in any direction, and for any service, commanded by the general of their order, bound to no family, community, or country, by the ordinary ties which bind men ; and sold for life to the cause of the Roman Pontiff."

These are the men, at this moment, ordered to America. And can they do nothing, Americans, to derange the free workings of your democratic institutions ? Can they not, and do they not, fan the slightest embers of discontent into a flame, those thousand little differences which must perpetually occur in any society, into riot, and quell its excess among their own people as it suits their policy and the establishment of their own control? Yes, they can be the aggressors, and contrive to be the aggrieved. They can do the mischief, and manage to be publicly lauded for their praiseworthy forbearance and their suffering patience. They can persecute, and turn away the popular indignation, ever roused by the cry of persecution from themselves, and make it fall upon their victims. They can control the press in a thousand secret ways. They can write under the signature of " Whig" to-day, and if it suits their turn, " Tory" to-morrow. They can

be democrat to-day, and Aristocrats to-morrow. They can out-American Americans in admiration of American institutions to-day, and "condemn them as unfit for any people" to-morrow. These are the men that Austria has sent here, that she supplies with money, with whom she keeps up an active correspondence, and whose officers (the Bishops) are passing back and forth between Europe and America, doubtless to impart that information *orally* which would not be so safe committed to writing.

Is there no danger to the Democracy of the country from such formidable foes arrayed against it? Is Metternich its friend? Is the Pope its friend? Are his official documents, now daily put forth, *Democratic* in their character?

Oh, there is no danger to the Democracy, for those most devoted to the Pope, the Roman Catholics, especially the Irish Catholics, are all on the side of Democracy! Yes; to be sure they are on the side of Democracy. They are just where I should look for them. Judas Iscariot joined with the true disciples. Jesuits are not fools. They would not startle our slumbering fears, by bolting out their monarchical designs directly in our teeth, and by joining the opposing

ranks, *except so far as to cover their designs.* This is a Democratic country, and the Democratic party is and ever must be the strongest party, unless ruined by traitors and Jesuits in the camp. Yes ; it is in the ranks of Democracy I should expect to find them, and for no good purpose, be assured. Every measure of Democratic policy in the least exciting will be pushed to *ultraism*, so soon as it is introduced for discussion. Let every real Democrat guard against the common Jesuitical artifice of tyrants, an artifice which there is much evidence to believe is practising against them at this moment, an artifice, *which, if not heeded, will surely be the ruin of Democracy* ; it is founded on the well known principle that "*extremes meet.*" The writer has seen it pass under his own eyes in Europe. When in despotic governments popular discontent, arising from the intolerable oppressions of the tyrants of the people, has manifested itself by popular outbreaks, to such a degree as to endanger the throne, and the people seemed prepared to shove their masters from their horses, and are likely to mount, and seize the reins themselves ; then, the popular movement, unmanageable any longer by resistance, is pushed to the extreme. The passions of the ignorant and vicious

are excited to outrage by pretended friends of the people. Anarchy ensues; and then the mass of the people, who are always lovers of order and quiet, unite at once in support of the strong arm of force for protection; and despotism, perhaps, in another, but *preconcerted* shape, resumes its iron reign. Italy and Germany, are furnishing examples every day. If an illustration is wanted on a larger scale, look at France in her late Republican revolution, and in her present relapse into despotism.

He who would prevent you from mounting his horse, has two ways of thwarting your designs. If he finds efforts to rise too strong for his resistance, he has but to add a little more impulse to them, and he shoves you over on the other side. In either case you are on the ground.

CHAPTER XXI.

HOW THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH TREATS MEN OF SCIENCE.

IN all ages the Church of Rome, says a recent writer, has been an opponent to scientific progress. Light, from whatever source derived, it has always been her policy to shun. During the dark ages, which were the periods of her greatest prosperity, she maintained a long and bitter struggle against the advancement of philosophical study. At a later period, as substitutes for science, she introduced her relics, her charms, and her amulets. Disease was not to be cured by medicine, but by a bone, a tooth, or a finger-nail of some monkish saint. Fire was not to be extinguished by water, but by charms wrought by relics.

Men did not accomplish any thing by their perseverance; but by virtue of an amulet suspended around their necks. Whole cargoes of those spurious remedies were exported (and are to this day) from Italy into Roman Catholic countries. Relics were said to have an infallible power in every emergency, in every danger, and in every undertaking, and science was therefore unnecessary; it was condemned, indeed, as inculcating infidelity in the sacred power of relics. No trade was so profitable as that of a dealer in such trash; and an "Exhibition of Science and Art," as tolerated and sanctioned by Rome in medieval times, would have been a remarkable sight, and a sad exposition of the weakness and credulity of mankind.

Before the rise of scholastic philosophy, the giant Science was indeed powerless; his ancient strength had departed from him, and the church held him captive by her wily arts and her terrible frowns. The philosophy of the schools was an attempt to harmonize the absurdities and false doctrines of the papacy with the philosophy of Aristotle, and we have a curious instance of the inconsistent policy of Rome in her treatment of the writings of this ancient author. A provincial synod, held at Paris in 1209, ordered the

metaphysical writings of the philosopher to be burnt. Innocent III. also forbade any to study his works, and several succeeding popes sanctioned these prohibitory measures. In 1261, however, Urban IV. in spite of the disapproval of his "infallible" predecessors in the papal chair, issued a command to Thomas Aquinas directing him to translate and write a commentary on the works of Aristotle; but Pope Clement IV. in the first year of his pontificate, renewed through his legate the original prohibition; yet a few years after, the philosophy of Aristotle again became the favorite study of the monks, and received the approbation of the church. That book, so often suppressed and anathematised by infallible popes, became, at the close of the thirteenth century, the text-book of monastic rationalism, and from it the monks endeavored to find arguments to prop all the absurd doctrines of popery. With this design in view, science, in the hands of the schoolmen, became distorted into a marvellous system of speculation. It is doubtful whether they understood their own writings; it is certain that few can understand them now. Metaphysics were employed to explain supernatural mysteries, or to solve some idle enigma of an unrestrained imagination; physics

were studied and applied to the elucidation of miracles; science was tortured to bear reluctant evidence to the traditional dogmas of Rome, and all the keen and subtle theories of intention, mental reservation, deadly and venial sins, transubstantiation, etc., were invented or maintained by scholastic philosophy. Science was not allowed to disprove any dogma of the church; rather than a profitable error should be overthrown, it was her policy to overthrow or suppress an unprofitable truth. Science was only tolerated so far as it would by unnatural distortions appear to support error.

This abstruse system served a purpose which the medieval church ever regarded as important; it cast an appearance of difficulty around science, and tended to sustain that monopoly in learning which the monks had enjoyed for so many ages. It formed an impenetrable barrier between the priests and the laity—between the learned and ignorant—and rendered all attempts at encroachment on the part of the latter next to impossible. Every effort was made to inspire the unlearned with a reverential awe for the philosophy of the schools; and its professors were designated by the ostentatious appellations of Profundus, Irrefragable, Mellifluous, Angelic, or Seraphic.

Any attempt to dissipate this system of technicalities, and to render science more serviceable to the interests of humanity, met with the immediate displeasure of the church. She condemned all scientific works which did not make science conducive to her advancement, or which contained principles or discoveries opposed to the learned expositions of the fathers. All science was expected to harmonize with school and aristic divinity, or it fell beneath a papal interdiction. Honorius III. condemned the writings of Erena to be burnt, and excommunicated all who dared to read or even to possess a copy of his book, "Divisio[n]e Naturæ."

Virgilius, bishop of Saltsburgh, was denounced as a heretic for asserting the existence of antipodes.

The old scientific theories were palpably erroneous; but the church forbade any to set them right, and no advance or alteration could be made unless the desired range was first carefully examined and proved orthodox, or was found to offer convenient aid to support opinions pleasing to the policy of Rome. Thus knowledge, disguised and mutilated, became imprisoned within the cloister; its votaries were divested of all

freedom of the mind, compelled by fire and the sword to adopt contradictions for demonstrated truths.

Slander was a common weapon employed by the church to suppress or discourage scientific investigations. Students were denounced as magicians and sorcerers. Even as early as the time of Bede, philosophical studies were looked upon with suspicion. That venerable author, in an epistle which accompanies his treatise on "Thunder and its Signification," expresses his sense of the danger of the task, and entreats the protection of Herenfrid, at whose command he had undertaken it, from the malignity of those who would call him a magician for engaging in such studies. If one so honored as Bede was thus in fear, how great must have been the danger of less influential students! Gerbert, Girald, Michael Scot, Grosteste, and Roger Bacon were all accused of magic.

Roger Bacon was one of the most remarkable men of the thirteenth century. He was both a prophet and a martyr to science. He was a Franciscan friar, having assumed the grey tunic of his order in the vain hope of obtaining opportunities for study. Although with them in body, he was not with them in mind; instead of upholding ignorance and superstition, it was

his aim to dispel them, and to argue against the prejudices of his age towards science. He endeavored to show that philosophy was not opposed to Bible truth, and, as a necessary consequence, he incurred the frowns and persecutions of the church. "The prelates and Friars," he writes, "are starving me in prison, nor will they suffer any to speak with me, fearing lest my writings should meet the eyes of any other than the pope and themselves." His works were suppressed and cast from the libraries of his own order. He was called magician by his intolerant enemies, yet we find him protesting "that it is a sinful practice when wicked men, despising the rules of philosophy, irrationally attempt to call up evil spirits."

But it was to the interest of Rome to keep the people dark; science was the great antagonist to the theory of miraculous power. "Without doubt," wrote Bacon, alluding to miracles and charms, "there is nothing in these days of this kind but what is deceitful, dubious, and irrational; for instance, if the nature of the load stone, whereby it draws iron to it, were not discovered, some one or other who had hereby a mind to cozen the people would so go about his business as lest any bystander should discover the

work of attraction should be natural, to cast figures or mutter forth some charm!" Such language was deadly to medieval science, and to the profitable exercise of monkish skill. Jerome de Esculo, general of the Franciscan order, condemned him to prison, and the Pope immediately ratified the sentence.

For ten long and dreary years Bacon was incarcerated in the dungeon of the convent of which he was a member. He died at the old age of seventy-nine, leaving among his contemporaries the name of a magician, but to posterity the reputation of a philosopher. Many instances of persecution on the part of the church towards lovers of science are recorded.

About the year 1316, Peter d'Apona a learned man of Padua, was sentenced by the inquisition to be burnt to death as a magician; and about the same time, Arnold de Villa Nova, a grey-haired old man in the eightieth year of his age, was also burnt at Padua as an "accused necromancer," for having engaged in these forbidden studies. Henry of Arragon, Marquis of Villena, a poet and philosopher, who died at Madrid in the year 1434, was accused of magic, and would probably have suffered the same fate but for his influence among the powerful. At his death, however,

inquisition testified its hatred to science by committing his library to the flames.

The invention of printing and the reformation of the sixteenth century at last broke down the barriers of scholastic philosophy. The human mind awakened from its lethargy, and men out of the cloister ventured to lift the veil with which priestly power had hid truth from the "vulgar laity." The results were disastrous to a system built on error and falsehood, and Rome, impatient and furious, sent out organized inquisitors and oppressors of the human mind. Modern science was denounced as heretical. The church not only claimed to be the expounder of Scripture, but to be the whole expounder of science too.

Philosophers were again regarded as magicians and heretics, and excommunication and the fagot were employed by the zealous champions of intellectual darkness to annihilate both authors and their writings. Ignorance might insure personal safety, but knowledge incurred danger to its professor; and the church became so jealous of any signs of an inquiring spirit among the laity, that to be learned was thought heretical. Cyprianó de Valera, writing in the sixteenth century, tells us that it was a common proverb in

Spain, when speaking of a studious person, to say, he is so learned that he is in danger of becoming a Lutheran.

The treatment of Galileo by the church of Rome is a memorable instance of her opposition to scientific progress. Study had revealed to the mind of the philosopher the truth of the earth's motion, and led him to adhere to the Copernican doctrine. Fearlessly he proclaimed and advocated his opinions, but his views were opposed to the patristic notions of science. The Dominicans, ever the evil genius to scientific discovery, raised an alarm, and the church denounced the doctrines of Galileo as both heretical and dangerous.

Galileo defended his opinions with masterly power and argument and endeavored to prove that the testimony of Holy Writ was in perfect harmony with his doctrine. This magnified his crime in the eyes of the church ; it was deemed an evidence of gross presumption for a layman to search into the vista of science with the lamp of Divine truth.

Galileo was cited before the inquisition, and a congregation of cardinals compelled him to renounce his opinions.

Years elapsed, and again Galileo issued out as the

champion of science. In the year 1632 he published his "Dialogue on the Systems of Ptolemy and Copernicus," in which he undertook to prove that the sun was certainly immoveable, and that the earth revolved round the sun. The work excited universal attention, and Galileo was again summoned before the inquisition at Rome, and condemned to imprisonment. Seven cardinals signed a decree, declaring that "To say that the sun is in the centre, and absolutely fixed, and without local motion, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and even heretical. To say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe, but that it moves, and has even a diurnal motion, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and an error in faith."

So much for the infallibility of the church in matters of philosophy; yet some even in our own day will not believe the revelations of science, because not sanctioned by patristic theology: they cling with the most eager tenacity to the old world science of the mediæval monks, look dismally at the spread of knowledge among the people, and try to oppose with their feeble voice the light bursting upon us from all the avenues of truth. A modern Roman Catholic archbishop, in

his eagerness for orthodox science, has ventured to denounce the doctrines of Galileo and Sir Isaac Newton as heretical, and testified his adherence to the scholastic theory that the sun travels round the earth !

These facts speak for themselves, and ought to be remembered at a time when Dr. Wiseman has endeavored to assume for his church the hitherto unheard-of characters of a patron and a friend of science.



CHAPTER XXII.

HOW THE CHURCH OF ROME REWARDS VICE AND IMMORALITY.—A PATTERN CARDINAL.

ANY one, who is familiar with the leading facts of modern history, will hardly require to be told that the Roman Catholic Church not only overlooks and tolerates the grossest vices in her members, so long as they remain devoted to her interests and obedient to her tyranny, but that she often gives to the most vicious and profligate men her highest ecclesiastical offices. A summary history of her openly dissolute popes and cardinals would fill volumes. We will detain our readers with only a single specimen.

A recent writer,* thus describes the character of Cardinal Dubois, and the effects of his political administration in the unfortunate kingdom of France.

Guilliaume Dubois was the son of an apothecary at the little town of Prives, and spent his youth in carrying pill-boxes and clysters to his father's patients. Having studied for the Church, he was about to receive holy orders, when he ran away with a servant girl, and apparently destroyed his prospects for life. After a year or two of connubial felicity, however, he grew tired of his wife, left her, and went to Paris, where he was fortunate enough to fall in with M. St. Laurent, the tutor of the Regent—then Duke of Chartres.

By this gentleman, young Dubois—who styled himself the Abbe Dubois—was employed to give lessons to his pupil, and St. Laurent dying soon after, the apothecary's son obtained the vacant post. He was well suited to the young Duke. Possessed of vast learning, he was a still greater proficient in vice; nothing came amiss to him, from a discussion on the merits of Cicero and Corneille to a *petit souper à quatre* in the faubourg. The Duchess of Orleans admitted that, at first, he “assumed the tone of an honest

man so well that she took him for one," but soon corrected her opinion. "The fellow," says this penetrating woman, "believes in nothing; he is a rogue and a scoundrel; he has the appearance of a fox creeping from its hole to steal a chicken." He was fox enough to see through and through the Duke, and soon mastered him completely.

Through life Philip never withdrew his confidence from the unprincipled Abbe. When the former became Regent, the latter took office as confidential minister, and soon controlled the whole administration. His public labors were prodigious; full twelve hours a day he was in his cabinet, receiving secretaries and ambassadors, dictating dispatches, digesting the day's business for the Regent, and exercising a minute superintendence over every branch of the public service. The reward he sought for his unparalleled devotion to his master's interests was rank.

Cardinals took precedence of the highest nobles at court: Dubois resolved to be a Cardinal. There was some trifling difficulty in the way. Though nominally an Abbe, he had never taken holy orders; he had a wife living; he was an avowed infidel; and he had openly led a life of glaring profligacy. It must

not be supposed that all the dignitaries of the Church of that day were profligates, or infidels, or married men, or laymen ; there were several orthodox Christians and respectable men among them ; but certain it is that Dubois had no trouble in obtaining, in the course of a few days, the several orders of sub-deacon, deacon, priest, bishop, and archbishop.

The next step was more difficult. Though half a dozen kings supported Dubois's claims, the Pope refused to send him the hat, and the ambitious schemer waited till Clement died. When the Conclave met to choose his successor, Dubois managed matters just as our political leaders do at primary elections. With all the money that could be raised by the French treasury, the Abbe de Tencin, a young man whose sister enjoyed Dubois's protection, was sent to Rome to buy up the votes. He succeeded so well that Cardinal Conti, having given a written pledge to bestow the next vacant hat on Dubois, was elected Pope. But when the time came to fulfil his bargain, his Holiness demanded more money. Dubois indignantly referred to his written promise ; the Pope replied by sending the hat to his brother. Dubois was finally compelled

to accede to his avaricious demands, and a few thousand Louis secured the long-coveted rank.

Having attained the highest pinnacle of power and consideration, Cardinal Dubois began to retaliate on the nobility for the slights he had formerly suffered at their hands. He took delight in insulting the whole body of the peers; and even shoved a lady of rank out of his room, because she addressed him as "Monsieur" instead of "Votre Eminence." His temper was ungovernable, and his language so coarse and profane, that he was ironically advised by his secretary to take an additional clerk, and give him, for sole employment, the duty of scolding and swearing at people. Notwithstanding these faults, he was so indefatigable in his office, that he was retained by Louis XV. and during the early reign of that monarch wielded supreme sway over France. The severity of his toils, added to the effects of dissipation, at length told upon his frame. Disease attacked him. Fearful of losing his power, he concealed it; and the pain made him more morose and passionate than ever. On his death-bed he swore at his doctors, ordered the priests to be turned out of the room, and died raving and cursing every one around him.

Under the regency of Philip of Orleans, and the ministry of Cardinal Dubois, the people of France endured miseries hardly to be described. The notorious swindle of the Scotchman, Law, which owed its success to the Regent's patronage, beggared the whole country. When we call to mind that the amount of money in circulation was much less than it is now, and was consequently more valuable in proportion to other commodities, we can form some conception of the extent of disaster that must have been produced by the total failure of a bank which had issued paper to the amount of nine hundred millions of dollars.

Reckless speculation had produced its usual fruits. Crowds of adventurers had flocked to Paris. Merchants, professional men, mechanics, deserted their business to dabble in shares. Everyday-life was at an end. While the bank lasted, the scenes that were witnessed resembled the ancient Saturnalia. When it fell, a despair that cannot be pictured overwhelmed the people. Robbers and assassins walked the streets in broad daylight. Men were murdered and thrown into the Seine, and no one seemed to notice it. In the general calamity life seemed to have lost its value. To complete the horrors of that awful period, the

plague suddenly appeared in Provence and Languedoc, and swept away the population by thousands. Those who fled died by the roadside ; those who staid died in their bed, on their chair, in their office. Famine followed ; and those who escaped the pestilence perished by hunger. It seemed as though a righteous Providence was smiting the nation for the crimes it tolerated in its rulers.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOW ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS INTERFERE IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

WE have already adverted to this subject in an early chapter of this work. But it is a subject that will bear re-examination and is not easily exhausted. Since that chapter was written, a great prelate of New York has returned from Europe, re-invigorated by an interview with His Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth; and almost at the instant of his landing on our shores, he dashes into politics, commencing by writing and publishing a dictatorial letter intending to overawe the legislature of New York, and prevent them from passing a law to place church property in the hands of

trustees. This was nothing new for Archbishop Hughes. He has often entered the political arena before; and often got baffled and defeated, as in the present instance. Senator Brooks had declared in the course of debate in the senate, that the Archbishop was possessed of immense wealth.

Archbishop Hughes returned from Rome, says a cotemporary, about the time the legislature adjourned. Senator Brooks came back to New York, when Archbishop Hughes, in a letter filled with sarcasm, denied the assertions regarding his wealth, and facetiously dared his assailant to proof. Mr. Brooks picked up the glove, and in the course of half-a-dozen letters, showed the world of Manhattan that his assertions were true. He had a warm friend in Mr. Register Doane, and the latter officer furnished him with copies of the conveyances from time to time. *It is proven that John Hughes, Archbishop, &c. is a very large landed proprietor.* He asserts himself that he is a poor man. Then comes this strange fact, being poor, how came these conveyances (which are mostly for church property) to vest title in him in fee simple and absolute? Why are not the conveyances made to the trustees of the churches? Either John Hughes owns all this

property, or he does not. If he owns it whence came the money to purchase it? If he does not own it, where are the real owners?—who are they?—and where is the record evidence to destroy *his* naked ownership upon the registry? This is a dilemma, either horn of which is an awkward one for a clergyman to hang upon.

This controversy will have an immense effect upon the country at large. The clothing of the lamb has been stripped from the shoulders of the wolf. Americans perceive that there must be some cause for the recent upheavings of the masses against foreign influence and religious subtlety—that there is truth in some of the warnings against that influence of religion over politics which the latter has undertaken to destroy by the use of its own weapons. It is a great thing for the world at large, too, that the head of the Romish church in America turns out to have been a blackguard in disguise, to whom equivocation is a charitable word for personal application. For drawing to a head a secret fester on the body politic of the country, Mr. Brooks should receive the thanks of the whole Union. When so subtle a man as Archbishop Hughes has failed in his conjunction of religion to

politics, we may be very sure that his disgrace will deter other priests from soiling their robes with the dust of the partisan arena.

But Archbishop Hughes is not the only Roman Catholic priest who meddles with politics and exerts a direct and positive influence in elections and in legislative proceedings. We quote below a letter which shows that at least one other priest has had a hand in business of this sort.

The following letter was published first in Pittsburg, in October, 1844. It was sent to that city by General Markle, by the hands of an attorney of that place:

PRIEST FLANNAGAN'S LETTER.

Letter from Rev. T. Flannagan to General Markle, post-marked "Ebensburg, April 5," and directed to "Robstown, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania."

EBENSBURG, April 4th, 1844.

General Markle, Esq.:

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to intrude upon you under my emergent circumstances. I presume you have already noticed the case of the Flannagans now, upon the expiration of two years, confined at Ebensburg,

charged with murder. But, sir, after an industrious course of perseverance during the two recent sessions of the legislature, we have succeeded in having a new trial, which will take place immediately; length of time, with heavy expenses, has reduced my circumstances so much that I am now necessitated to call on my political friends. Then, sir, I wish to instruct you that my politics have been the cause of all. You can, if you doubt my veracity, ask General James Irvin, now a member of Congress, also Mr. James Linton, House of Representatives, what my influence is: *it was by my instrumentality the above named gentlemen were elected; if you assist me now I will warrant your election.* *I am a Catholic clergyman, and it is in my power to obtain for you a majority of the Pennsylvania Irish;* the Governor would not do any thing for me because I differed with him in politics. I will return to you whatever you will forward to me *if you are not elected;* there is nothing in my power but I will do—money I want. Excuse my intrusion, being a stranger to you.

Very respectfully, &c.,

REV. T. FLANNAGAN.

Before taking leave, for the present, of the Roman Catholic Clergy, the reader will permit us to quote a paragraph from the Lockport Courier, and make a short commentary upon it. Speaking of the present controversy with Senator Brooks the editor says.

Archbishop Hughes, in the present, instance, stands before the public in a plight which no man of respectability could covet. He commenced by charging Senator Brooks with falsehood, for stating that he (Bishop Hughes,) owned millions of property in his own name in New York city. This charge the Senator disproved, by quoting from the records conveyances of over forty pieces of property. Thus crowded to the wall, the Bishop tried to escape by the subterfuge that this was "the property of God," and he only the trustee. Senator Brooks meets this, by showing that Archbishop Hughes *sells and conveys away this "property of God."*

The layman has not only dispoved the charge of falsehood and sent it back to roost with him that made it, but has also set the Archbishop an example of good breeding in abstaining from the use of offensive epithets, and thus sends back to the same roosting place, all the Archbishop's expressions of contempt.

Since the above was penned, we have received the New York papers of Friday morning, which contain a card from Archbishop Hughes, in which, he asks "for a suspension of ten days or two weeks" of the judgment of the public. Thus having abandoned the controversy and left Senator Brooks as a man unworthy of his notice, the Archbishop finds public opinion so strong against him, that he feels compelled to seek a modification of it.

So much from the Lockport Courier. What we wish particularly to comment upon is the contemptible quibble of the Archbishop in calling his property "the property of God," just as if every man's property was not a trust held from the Supreme Giver of all good for the stewardship of which he must give account.

Does the Archbishop expect the public to believe that Roman Catholic priests are not accustomed to spend the money they receive from the people exactly as they please? The Roman Catholic Church boasts that it is always the same. Has Archbishop Hughes less control over what he calls "God's property," than the Spanish and Italian prelates? Does not the Archbishop of Havana spend his modest little salary of one hundred thousand dollars per annum as he pleases?

Do not the Cardinals in Rome emulate their predecessors in luxury and loose living ? Have Cardinals in Rome ceased to indulge in pictures, statues, cameos and kept mistresses, bought with " God's property." If they have, we should like to see the proof of it. We have with us at this moment a friend just returned from a visit to Rome, who says that the Cardinals remain as always, just like Archbishop Hughes, *men of the world*, gentlemen, of the highest breeding, politicians of the school of Machiavelli, arbiters in matters of taste and the fine arts, and stern denouncers of liberalism and popular education in every form. How they spend and always have spent the property of God, all the world knows. Whether American Catholics, after Senator Brook's disclosures are completed, will tolerate the same sort of management of God's property we shall see. Enough has already been disclosed to account for Hughes's anxiety to stop the inquiry and conceal the truth ; as well to account for his haste on his return from Europe, to do his utmost for preventing a law which should give the contributions of the people into the hands of trustees, with the usual guarantees and responsibilities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

WE have endeavored in the preceding pages to unmask the real enemies of American prosperity and progress. They are numerous, powerful, subtle, unscrupulous and audacious ; and their number is rapidly increasing. Their purpose is to change the form of government of this country, its whole civil polity, and its religion, to regulate all the industrial pursuits of the American people in such a way as to render American labor wholly tributary to foreign capitalists, and speculators ; and to rule the country, bringing it wholly

under foreign domination, through Jesuit intrigue and the bribery of foreign gold. These agents are veterans in diplomacy and intrigue. Their secret societies are spread all over the land, existing wherever there is a Jesuit college or a Roman Catholic Church. Their open measures are urged in our legislative halls as the result of truly liberal and democratic principles ; and up to the present moment their success has been entirely unchecked.

Still we believe there is enough of the true American spirit left in the country to defeat their designs, if the Americans will diligently apply themselves to learning the real truth and perform the duty which that truth dictates. The American people are highly talented and intelligent. They are capable of investigating any point which relates to their political welfare, if they choose to, do it. In the old colonial times both Burke and Pitt complimented the American colonists on their proficiency in law, their sound parliamentary eloquence and their political wisdom. It is not possible that the descendants of the people compared by Chatham with the ancient Greeks and Romans should have lost all sense of nationality, all desire to be *American*.

We hope for better things. Especially as a party calling themselves Americans, has recently sprung into existence and declared that *Americans shall rule America*. Last June this party carried the city of Philadelphia by a heavy majority, having the votes of the Whig party in their favor. This month (May 1855) they have carried the same city against the fusion of all the whigs, all the democrats, all the Roman Catholics and all the foreign protestants, (this last is a very numerous body in Philadelphia.) So far as Philadelphia is concerned the march is onward. If we recollect rightly the same party carried the state of Pennsylvania, the Keystone State, last autumn. It occurs to us too, that something of the same sort has happened, in those states where a former revolution, having American nationality in view, took its rise, the states, namely, of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. Even New York, the paradise of foreigners, exhibits systems of restiveness under the foreign rule which has so long degraded and disgraced her. But as this was the last spot to be given up by the British to American rule after the first revolution, we shall not be disappointed if it should be their last stronghold in the contest which has now begun. Sena-

tor Brooks appears to be ripping open certain dark, recesses of villainy with an unsparing hand. What he discloses shows so clearly the extortion and oppression to which the Roman Catholic people are subjected, that we should not be surprised to see the congregations joining the American movement, as some of them did in the old Revolution, and going in for that unheard of thing a republican Catholic Church. Stranger things have happened.

We wish it to be clearly understood that the ground we occupy is purely *politcial*. We do not discuss the religious dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, or interfere with its faith or worship. But we recognize in the Roman Catholic Priesthood, and the Jesuit Brotherhood, two distinct *political organizations*, united in purpose and using religion as a mask for political purposes, as they always have done in all ages and countries. These we must and will oppose. We cannot do otherwise. We have not done with them yet. What we have said in this little volume, is only a slight intimation of what is coming. If life is spared they shall hear from us again.

